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**Civilizational Space of Italy: The Evolution of Economic and Social Development  
and Inter-Regional Differences**

by  
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I have to begin by thanking my parents, whose love and support provided me with an environment to think independently and develop an interest in the workings of the medical industry from a young age. I will always be grateful for the efforts of my undergraduate professors, who instilled in me a conviction in using economic thinking to understand the pressing problems of the world around me.

Special thanks are worth expressing to the North-West Research Institute for Cultural and Natural Heritage for its support and assistance in the long-term study of Italy's social and economic history, the establishment of working relations with the state archives of the Italian Republic, and the search for important sources of information to create a unique market work.

I would like to express my special gratitude to the Central State Archive of Italy in Rome (*Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Roma*) for their assistance in the search and research of primary sources and archival documents, which made it possible to make my scientific work qualitative and scientifically sound.

I would also like to express my special gratitude to the University of Bologna, Sapienza University of Rome, University of Padua, University of Milan, University of Turin, University of Florence, and University of Pisa for their consultations and recommendations on the study of Italy's social, economic, and political history.

I would also like to express my special gratitude to the Library of Congress of the United States of America for providing works from the archives.

A lot of work has been done on the scientific works of Russian scientists and researchers. Therefore, I would like to express my great gratitude to the National Library of the Russian Federation for providing works from the archives.

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## **Sources of the Study**

### **In Italy:**

Central State Archive of Italy, Rome (Archivio centrale dello Stato, Roma)

Italian National Institute of Statistics, Rome

Associazione per lo Sviluppo dell'Industria nel MEzzogiorno

The University of Bologna

The Sapienza University of Rome

The University of Padua

The University of Milan

The University of Turin

The University of Florence

The University of Pisa

### **In Russia:**

The National Library of the Russian Federation

The Russian Geographical Society

### **In France:**

Organisation de coopération et de développement économiques, Paris

### **In the United States of America:**

The Library of Congress of the United States of America

### **Others:**

The works and articles of significant scientists and researchers on the economic, social, and political history of Italy and Europe

## Abstract

*The relevance of studying.* The Italian civilizational space in the context of the evolution of economic development and interregional differences is due to a complex of socio-economic, historical, cultural, and geopolitical factors. Italy is a unique example of a country where centuries-old traditions, diverse cultural landscapes, and historical heritage significantly impact economic dynamics. The study of this issue makes it possible to identify key mechanisms for developing the national economy and analyze the factors contributing to or hindering the reduction of inter-regional disparities. Studying the evolution of the Italian civilizational space and its inter-regional differences is of high academic importance and practical interest from the viewpoint of developing effective development strategies. The Italian experience can be helpful in countries with similar structural problems, and identifying key factors of regional differentiation in the Italian economic space will allow us to offer scientifically sound recommendations for improving regional governance and economic policy.

*The study topic is unique as of the date of the thesis defense.* The scientific world has not yet conducted comprehensive socio-economic studies of the Italian civilizational space throughout all stages of its development. The author has noted many scientific papers and articles in English, Italian, Spanish, German, French, and Russian on the history of society, politics, culture, and economics of specific periods of the development of the civilizational space of modern Italy. The most in-depth works in the field of individual periods of civilization were the studies of Christian Matthias Theodor Mommsen, the German historian of Ancient Rome, Gino Luzzatto, the Italian historian of Medieval Italy, Luigi Dal Pane, the economist on the economics of the Risorgimento and Marina Sergeeva, the world-famous Russian specialist in the history of Ancient Rome's economics. Nevertheless, there was no comprehensive review and analysis of trends in the social and economic development of the civilizational space for Italy at the end of the dissertation study.

*The study's object is the society and economy of the territory of modern Italy as a civilizational space.*

*The study's subject* is the social and economic development and transformation of Italy's civilizational space throughout its development as a society – from Ancient Rome to the middle of the 19th century.

*The study's purpose* is to characterize the main parameters of the social and economic development of the society that formed Italy's civilizational space.

Based on the set goal, the following *tasks* are solved during the study:

(1) study the characteristics of the social and economic development of the society of the Apennine Peninsula throughout the entire period of the formation of the civilizational space;

(2) analyze the features of the interrelation of social and economic development for the formation of the civilizational space of Italy;

(3) identify the parameters and patterns of social and economic transformation of the Italian civilizational space for understanding the regional development of Europe;

(4) develop recommendations for assessing the parameters and patterns of social and economic transformation of societies in other regions of Europe as civilizational spaces.

*The theoretical basis of the study* is based on archival research by leading experts in the field of social and economic development in Italy, including such Italian, Russian, American, British, French, German, Spanish and Armenian researchers.

*The methodological basis of the study* consists of general and unique scientific research methods. Among the general scientific methods, the author uses logical, comparative, analytical, deductive, axiomatic, and synthesis methods. The author used a systematic approach to consider economic systems as a whole, considering the interrelationships between their elements. The historical method analyzes historical data to study social and economic phenomena. The expert method was applied to use experts' opinions to solve complex promising tasks, especially when the data is insufficient or difficult to interpret.

*The study used* 164 sources of information. Since the Russian scientific school actively participated in studying the history, economics, society, and philosophical thought of Ancient Rome and Italy, the author's main study base was sourced in the Russian language. Thus, 107 sources in Russian were used. There were also 47 sources

in Italian. The author also used sources in English, French, Spanish, and German languages.

*There are 18 tables in the text of the study according to the materials of the Central State Archive of Italy in Rome, Italy.*

*Five scientific articles and one monograph were published on the dissertation topic in English and Russian languages.*

*The study consists of Introduction, 7 thematic chapters and Conclusion in 376 pages.*

Chapter 2 provides a general physical and geographical description of the territory of the Apennine Peninsula and adjacent islands, on the site of which the civilizational space of Italian society has been formed for several millennia. Physical and geographical data are important for understanding the natural conditions that facilitated civilization's emergence and its society's transformation over a long period of time. It should be borne in mind that the Roman-Italian civilization originated in one of the most comfortable regions of the world, which is dominated by a subtropical Mediterranean climate, which has undergone several epochs of cooling and warming over the past four thousand years. This was reflected in the formation of the economy and social policy of the states that arose in the civilizational space of the Apennine Peninsula.

Chapter 3 is devoted to analyzing the economic and social characteristics of Ancient Rome over a long historical period – from 2800 BC to the 3rd century AD. For the convenience of reviewing the material, the chapter is divided into several key aspects covering political and geographical features, government institutions' evolution, and economic relations formation. This chapter is a comprehensive study of the economic and social aspects of Ancient Rome, revealing the patterns of its development and the functioning of key institutions.

Chapter 4 Chapter 4 is devoted to analyzing the key processes that determined the transformation of ancient Roman society and its evolution within the framework of medieval Europe. The focus will be on the historical, ethnic, social, and economic changes that took place in the former Roman Empire from the fourth to the fourteenth centuries. This chapter will cover a wide range of issues, starting with the Great

Migration of Peoples and ending with the peculiarities of the social and economic structure of the feudal society of the late Middle Ages.

Chapter 5 is devoted to analyzing key aspects of the Italian states' social and economic life during the Renaissance's formation and heyday. The Renaissance, which spanned the 13th-15th centuries, was marked by profound changes in the social, political and economic spheres, which predetermined the further development of Europe. This chapter will address issues related to the transformation of the social order and the development of industry, crafts, trade, and banking. The chapter is a comprehensive study of the social and economic structure of Renaissance Italy, revealing the features of the political structure, the position of various strata of society, the development of crafts and trade, as well as the factors that predetermined the success of Italian city-states on the path to prosperity.

Chapter 6 is devoted to studying the Italian state in the Age of Enlightenment (16th-18th centuries), highlighting the key aspects of its economic, social, and financial development. During this period, Italy was going through complex transformation processes that affected both the internal structures of individual states and their interaction with international markets and political forces in Europe. The chapter is a comprehensive study of Italy's economic and financial evolution in the Age of Enlightenment, covering the key factors contributing to its development and transformation in pan-European processes.

Chapter 7 is devoted to the analysis of key aspects of the economic and social development of Italy in the first half of the 19th century. The introduction to this chapter provides an overview of the upcoming analysis, emphasizing its importance for understanding the complex processes that took place in Italian society and economy during this period. The chapter provides a comprehensive analysis of Italy's social and economic development in the first half of the 19th century, focusing on both the industrial and agricultural sectors as well as trade and international economic relations. This analysis allows us to understand the economic dynamics of the region better and identify key trends and factors that determined the development of Italy in this historical period.

During the study, the author developed an algorithm for the social and economic analysis of trends in developing the Italian civilizational space over several millennia until the middle of the 19th century. This time-based approach was determined so that the results of the study could be verified in the future that the social and economic development of the space formed logical and reasonable prerequisites for those political, social, and, consequently, economic transformations that took place in the second half of the 19th century and led to the emergence of the ideology of fascism, the transformed form of capitalist relations in the future. They were logically transformed into a developed capitalist economy in the second half of the 20th century. The social and economic processes that have taken place in this civilizational space for many centuries have become the logical basis for subsequent transformations, which can serve as the basis for algorithmizing the process of analyzing other European civilizational spaces for further designing the social and economic processes of its future.

The principles of algorithmization are as follows:

- (1) Coverage of the maximum possible period of the existence of a given civilizational space. This makes it possible to detect all the markers of social and economic transformation of society;
- (2) Accurate and progressive tracking of events from the point of view of historical chronology, defining the main areas of analysis in each period;
- (3) The execution of a multidisciplinary review with a focus on historical events, that is, the allocation of two essential areas of society's activities for a more thorough or grounded analysis of the processes of transformation of the civilizational space, for example, the choice of social and economic directions;
- (4) To verify the algorithm model, perform a preliminary analysis up to a specific historical period to verify the correctness of the model's application to a given civilizational space.

Consequently, the dissertation study performed a social and economic analysis of Italy's civilizational space up to the middle of the 19th century to verify the algorithmization model of the analysis.

Finally, in the course of the dissertation study, the features of the social and economic development of the society of the Apennine Peninsula were studied.

throughout the entire period of the formation of the civilizational space, the features of the interrelationship of social and economic development for the formation of the Italian civilizational space were analyzed and the parameters and patterns of social and economic transformation of the Italian civilizational space were determined to understand the regional development of Europe. Further the study's results allowed us to characterize the main parameters of the social and economic development of the society that formed the civilizational space of Italy.

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## Chapter 1

### Introduction

*The relevance of studying* The Italian civilizational space in the context of the evolution of economic development and interregional differences is due to a complex of socio-economic, historical, cultural, and geopolitical factors. Italy is a unique example of a country where centuries-old traditions, diverse cultural landscapes, and historical heritage significantly impact economic dynamics. The study of this issue makes it possible to identify key mechanisms for developing the national economy and analyze the factors contributing to or hindering the reduction of inter-regional disparities.

In recent decades, economics has been actively studying the concepts of civilizational development, focusing on spatial economics, regional divergence, and institutional differences. With its pronounced disparities between the northern and southern regions, Italy is a striking example of a country where the interaction of historical, institutional, and economic factors forms sustainable economic models. An in-depth analysis of the Italian experience can serve as the basis for interdisciplinary research combining economics, history, sociology, and cultural studies.

Italy's economic development demonstrates heterogeneity, expressed in significant differences between the industrialized North and the less dynamic South. These differences are multi-layered and related to both historical aspects (different trajectories of industrialization and modernization) and institutional and geographical factors. An in-depth analysis of the evolution of these differences will make it possible to identify possible mechanisms for leveling them and offer recommendations on regional policy, which is especially important in the context of global economic challenges and crisis phenomena.

Regarding historical and cultural factors, Italy has a rich history where the processes of urbanization, industrialization, and modernization took place unevenly. Various regions of the country developed under the influence of diverse factors: political fragmentation in the Middle Ages, the heterogeneity of the pace of the industrial revolution in the 19th century. The influence of these factors was on 20th century and

continues to be felt in the 21st century making it relevant to study the dynamics of economic development and interregional differences in Italy

The modern Italian economy is influenced by globalization processes that are changing traditional production and resource allocation models. In the context of European integration and global technological changes, an important aspect is how the Italian regions adapt to these challenges. An in-depth analysis of the civilizational features of the Italian economic space will help us better understand the mechanisms of interaction between global and local levels in shaping national and regional economic policy

Thus, studying the evolution of the Italian civilizational space and its inter-regional differences is of high academic importance and practical interest from the viewpoint of developing effective development strategies. The Italian experience can be helpful in countries with similar structural problems, and identifying key factors of regional differentiation in the Italian economic space will allow us to offer scientifically sound recommendations for improving regional governance and economic policy

*The study topic is unique as of the date of the thesis defense.* The scientific world has not yet conducted comprehensive socio-economic studies of the Italian civilizational space throughout all stages of its development. The author has noted many scientific papers and articles in English, Italian, Spanish, German, French, and Russian on the history of society, politics, culture, and economics of specific periods of the development of the civilizational space of modern Italy. The most in-depth works in the field of individual periods of civilization were the studies of Christian Matthias Theodor Mommsen, the German historian of Ancient Rome; Gino Luzzatto, the Italian historian of Medieval Italy; Luigi Dal Pane, the economist on the economics of the Risorgimento; and Marina Sergeeva, the world-famous Russian specialist in the history of Ancient Rome's economics. Nevertheless, there was no comprehensive review and analysis of trends in the social and economic development of the civilizational space of modern Italy at the end of the dissertation study

*The dissertation study was conducted in Italy, the Russian Federation, and the USA.* As an indigenous native speaker of the Russian language, the author chose the scientific works of Russian researchers and historians as the primary source of

information. However, given the regional specifics of the research topic, an impressive part of the work was performed in Italy and based on Italian sources.

*The study's object* is the society and economy of the territory of modern Italy as a civilizational space.

*The study's subject* is the social and economic development and transformation of Italy's civilizational space throughout its development as a society – from Ancient Rome to the middle of the 19th century.

*The study's purpose* is to characterize the main parameters of the social and economic development of the society that formed Italy's civilizational space.

Based on the set goal, the following *tasks* are solved during the study:

(1) study the characteristics of the social and economic development of the society of the Apennine Peninsula throughout the entire period of the formation of the civilizational space;

(2) analyze the features of the interrelation of social and economic development for the formation of the civilizational space of Italy;

(3) identify the parameters and patterns of social and economic transformation of the Italian civilizational space for understanding the regional development of Europe;

(4) develop recommendations for assessing the parameters and patterns of social and economic transformation of societies in other regions of Europe as civilizational spaces.

*The dissertation study's hypothesis* is that the identification of parameters and patterns of social and economic transformation of the civilizational space – using Italy as an example, will create an algorithm for assessing the formation of other regions of Europe.

*The theoretical basis of the study* is based on archival research by leading experts in the field of social and economic development in Italy, including, such Italian researchers as Pasquale Villari, Eugenio Garin, Giorgio Longo, Gino Luzzatto, Benito Diaz, Giorgio Candemoro, Umberto Baldini, Luigi Dal Pane, Delio Cantimori, Emilio Sereni, Lucius Junius Moderatus Columella, etc. – such Russian scientists as Ts. K.N. M. Ambramson, I. Batkin, V. Bondarchuk, T. Gusarova, N. Zalessky, S. Kovalev, M. Kovalskaya, L. Kotelnikova, V. Nevler, A. Roiova, V. Rutenburg, M. Sergeenko, etc.

German historian Christian Matthias Theodor Mommsen. Also, the author used archive proceedings such as Italian organizations as the Central State Archive of Italy, Italian National Institute of Statistics, University of Bologna, Sapienza University of Rome, University of Padua, University of Milan, University of Turin, University of Florence, and the University of Pisa, such as Russian organizations as the National Library of the Russian Federation and Russian Geographical Society, Organisation de coopération et de développement économiques in France, and The Library of Congress of the United States of America.

*The methodological basis of the study* consists of general and unique scientific research methods. Among the general scientific methods, the author uses logical, comparative, analytical, deductive, axiomatic, and synthesis methods. The author used a systematic approach to consider economic systems as a whole, considering the interrelationships between their elements. The historical method analyzes historical data to study social and economic phenomena. The expert method was applied to use experts' opinions to solve complex promising tasks, especially when the data is insufficient or difficult to interpret.

*The results* obtained during the dissertation research have theoretical and practical significance. They can be used to analyze the social and economic development and transformation of the civilizational space of other European countries, such as France, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Germany, and Poland, and to compile a correct methodological framework for identifying trends in the socio-economic transformation of society.

*The study used* 164 sources of information. Since the Russian scientific school actively participated in studying the history, economics, society, and philosophical thought of Ancient Rome and Italy, the author's main study base was sourced in the Russian language. Thus, 107 sources in Russian were used. There were also 47 sources in Italian. The author also used sources in English, French, Spanish, and German languages.

*The study consists of* Introduction, 7 thematic chapters, and Conclusion in 376 pages.

*Five scientific articles and one monograph* were published on the dissertation topic in English and Russian languages.

## **Chapter 2**

### **General Characteristics of the Apennine Peninsula and Italy**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

Chapter 2 of the dissertation study provides a general physical and geographical description of the territory of the Apennine Peninsula and adjacent islands, on the site of which the civilizational space of Italian society has been formed for several millennia.

Physical and geographical data are important for understanding the natural conditions that facilitated civilization's emergence and its society's transformation over a long period of time. It should be borne in mind that the Roman-Italian civilization originated in one of the most comfortable regions of the world, which is dominated by a subtropical Mediterranean climate, which has undergone several epochs of cooling and warming over the past four thousand years. This was reflected in the formation of the economy and social policy of the states that arose in the civilizational space of the Apennine Peninsula.

#### **2.2 Geographical Location of the Apennine Peninsula**

The area of Italy is 301 thousand square kilometers. The Apennine Peninsula, where Italy is located, is in the central part of Southern Europe. Its territory includes the Padan lowland, the slopes of the Alpine Mountain Arc facing it, the nearby large islands of Sicily and Sardinia, and numerous small islands (Egadi, Lipari, Pontian, Tuscan Archipelago, and others). In the north, on the mainland, the Italian territory borders France, Switzerland, Austria and Slovenia. In the south, the peninsula is bordered by Africa through the Tunisian Strait. The Apennine Peninsula juts deep into the Mediterranean Sea. The shores are washed by the seas: in the west by the Ligurian and Tyrrhenian seas, in the south by the Ionian, and in the east by the Adriatic. The position of the Apennine States in the center of the Mediterranean basin, at the crossroads of trade routes between the West and the East, has always played an important role in the life of these countries.

Italy is located in the south of Europe. Parts of its territory can be distinguished: the mainland (about half of the area), the peninsular (the Apennine Peninsula) and the

insular (the islands of Sicily, Sardinia, and several small ones). Sea borders are four times longer than land borders. Even the deepest regions of the country are no more than 200-300 kilometers from the coast.

The economic and geographical location in the center of the Mediterranean basin has long favored the development of relations with the Middle East and North African countries and other countries of Southern Europe. And now it is contributing to the economic development of Italy. The land borders with France, Switzerland, and Austria, and partly with the former Yugoslavia, run through the Alps. Northern Italy is in a more advantageous position than Southern Italy, as it has the opportunity to perform external economic relations both by land and by sea. Transcontinental aviation lines pass through Italy.

### **2.3 Geological Structure and Minerals of the Apennine Peninsula**

Almost 4/5 of Italy's surface is occupied by mountains and hills, less than 20% of its area is in the Padan Plain and narrow coastal lowlands. The peninsula is separated from the rest of the continent by Europe's highest mountain range – the Alps. The giant arc of the Alps, curved to the northwest, stretches from west to east for 1,200 km. The highest, western part of them is the ancient Hercynian massif, composed of crystalline rocks. It is here that the highest peaks of the Alps are located, Mont Blanc (4807 m), Monte Rosa (4634 m) and Cervina (4478 m). The peaks of these mountains are covered with mighty glaciers. To the south, the Alps drop to 1000 m above sea level and are represented by the Maritime Alps. To the east, the mountain chain spreads out like a fan of spurs, and their height decreases to 2000 m in the Carnic Alps. Along with crystalline rocks, limestones are widespread in the central and, especially, the Eastern Alps. The mountain ranges of the Alps are cut by numerous valleys and passes, accessible throughout the year or closed only for a short time in winter. Roads and railways run through the passes, and the mountains are riddled with tunnels in some places.

Humans have long extensively used the Alps' natural resources. These include the large reserves of energy contained in Alpine rivers, numerous climatic and ski resorts, and the extraction of building materials. People settled in the picturesque Alpine valleys 3.5 thousand years ago.

In the southwest, the Alps merge into the Apennine Mountains, which stretch further across the entire Apennine Peninsula, bordering the Ligurian Gulf. The Apennines are one of the youngest mountains on the planet, part of the Eurasian belt of Alpine folding. They exceed the Alps by 1,500 km in length but are much lower in height. Their highest point, Mount Corno—reaches only 2,914 m above sea level. The peaks of the Apennine Mountains do not reach the snow line and are devoid of eternal snow, only on the eastern slopes of Monte Corno, the only glacier in the Apennines, descends to a height of 2690 m.

The Apennine Mountains are very diverse in their geological structure and relief. The mountains in Tuscany, the central Apennines, Campania, and Basilicata are composed of conglomerates, sandstones, limestones, clay shales, and marbles. Further south in Calabria, they are composed of ancient volcanic and metamorphic rocks. The same rocks are typical for the mountains of Sicily and Sardinia. Due to the widespread occurrence of limestones in Italy, all forms of surface and closed karst are found in many areas—in the Eastern Alps, Northern and Central Apennines, on the Murge and Gargano plateaus, in Sicily, Sardinia, funnels, wells, caves. The Alps are home to one of the deepest caves in the world, the Antro del Corchia (805 m). There are about 70 large caves and several hundred grottos in Italy. The Blue Grotto on the shore of the island of Capri is world-famous. Caves and grottos have long served as places of settlements, temples, and burials in Italy. Due to the constant humidity of the air and the presence of mineral springs, vapors, and mud, some caves have medicinal value. At the same time, karst phenomena cause great harm to the economy, drying up and impoverishing the soil, and interfering with the construction of buildings and roads. A characteristic feature of the geological structure of Italy and the Apennine Peninsula is the widespread occurrence of volcanic rocks, which are especially common in Tuscany, Lazio, Campania, Sicily, and Sardinia. The only extensive lowland in Italy is the Padan Plain, which occupies most of the Po River basin. The remaining lowlands, which are insignificant in area, stretch along the coasts. The Padan plain is gradually decreasing from west to east. There are orchards and vineyards in its hilly western part, as well as livestock, grain, and beet-growing areas in the lower reaches of the Po River. The Padan



Plain is not only the main breadbasket of Italy but also the most industrially developed region of the country.

Italy is one of the few European countries where earthquakes are frequent. They are often catastrophic. In the twentieth century, over 150 earthquakes were registered in the country. The zone of the most significant seismic activity occupies Central and Southern Italy. The last major earthquake occurred in November 1980. It covered a vast area of 26,000 sq. km between the cities of Naples and Potenza. Italy is the only country on the continent with volcanoes of different types and in different stages of development. There are extinct volcanoes on the Eugean hills and in the Alban Mountains, as well as active ones – Etna, Vesuvius, and Stromboli.

Italy has a variety of minerals, but their deposits are primarily small, scattered throughout the territory, and often inconvenient for development. There are small deposits of iron ore there. Its extraction has been going on for 2,700 years, and now it has been preserved only in Aosta and on the island of Elba. Italy is much richer in deposits of polymetallic ores, combining lead and zinc with an admixture of silver and other metals. These deposits are mainly associated with crystalline and metamorphic rocks of Sardinia and limestones of the Eastern Alps. Italy occupies one of the first places in the world in terms of mercury ore reserves – cinnabar, located in Tuscany. Bauxite deposits are being developed in the karst basins of Apulia, which are currently almost exhausted. Manganese deposits are found in Liguria and Central Italy.

Italy's energy resources meet its energy needs by only 15%. Sardinia, Tuscany, Umbria, and Calabria have brown and low-grade coal deposits. Limited oil reserves on the island of Sicily, the Padan Plain, and the east coast of Central Italy provide less than 2% of Italy's oil needs. The natural gas deposits of the Padan Plain and its underwater extension, the continental shelf of the Adriatic Sea, are very important for the country's economy. Natural gas is also found in the Northern, Central, and Southern Apennines and Sicily.

Deposits of sulfur, potash, rock salt, asphalt, and bitumen are concentrated on the island of Sicily. The bowels of Italy are rich in building materials: marble, granite, and travertine. In Carrara (Tuscany), the famous white Carrara marble is mined. The ancient

Romans used it to create many sculptures and decorate buildings. Nowadays, it is not only used in the country but also exported.

## **2.4 The Climate of the Apennine Peninsula**

In the relatively small, narrow, and mountainous territory of the Apennine Peninsula, there is no space for developing long and flowing rivers. Italian rivers are primarily short; they are mountain streams flowing directly into the sea or forming relatively small river systems. Only in Northern Italy is there a developed network of rivers that feed on glacial meltwater and heavy precipitation all year round. The axis of the North Italian River's network is Italy's most significant and deepest river, with a length of 670 km and a width of 100 to 800 meters. The area of its basin occupies about 25% of the country's territory. Starting in the west, in the Alps, the Po flows east through the entire Padan Plain and empties into the Adriatic Sea. In some places, the riverbed lies above the surrounding plain in the lower reaches. This required the construction of numerous dams to protect against floods, which are not uncommon here. The Po forms a primary shipping system with its tributaries and channels.

The left tributaries of the Po flow from the Alps, and the right— from the Apennines. The left tributaries feed mainly on glacial meltwater in summer. The Po's Apennine tributaries are small, turbulent mountain rivers that are most abundant in spring when the snow melts and rains heavily in rainy autumn. The rest of the Italian mainland's rivers, which are not part of the Po system, are most full in June due to winter snowmelt and summer rains. The largest river of the Apennine Peninsula is the Tiber, which is 405 km long and only 150 m wide. From Rome to the mouth of the Tiber is navigable. Through a system of lakes, tributaries, and channels, the Tiber is connected to another significant river on the peninsula, the Arno. Both the Tiber and the Arno are notorious for their devastating floods. Considerable losses to the economy and cultural monuments were caused, for example, by the flood in Florence in 1966. The large rivers of the Apennine Peninsula are of the Mediterranean type: that is, they are full of water in autumn and winter and shallow in summer. Numerous small rivers dry up completely in summer, and in autumn and winter, they turn into stormy streams.

Humans have long used Italian rivers to generate electricity, supply water to settlements and industrial enterprises, and on a small scale for navigation. More than 60% of Italy's total hydropower reserves are concentrated in the Alps. Almost all of these resources are already being used by existing hydroelectric power plants. Most of Italy's lakes are located in the foothills and mountainous regions of the Alps and on the Adriatic coast. These are vast glacial reservoirs with depths of more than 400 m, covering an area of up to 370 sq km. The lake basins have a mild and healthy climate. Lakes near the Adriatic coast are former lagoons blocked by sandbanks. They are shallow, and the water in them is salty. The lakes of central Italy—Bolsena, Vico, Albano, Nemi, and Bracciano—were formed due to water filling the craters of some extinct volcanoes.

## **2.5 Geography of Soils and Their Resources in the Apennine Peninsula**

Italy's soil cover is very diverse. In the Alps, mountain meadows and forest soils are common in the north. The southern foothills of the Alps and most of the Padan Plain are covered with brown forest soils. In the mid-altitude zone of the Alps, they are infertile. Swampy soils are found in coastal areas near the Adriatic Sea.

In the coastal zone of the Apennine Peninsula and the island of Sicily, brown subtropical soils are widespread, which are very favorable for the cultivation of grapes and other southern crops. Humus-carbonate and mountain-forest brown soils predominate on the Apennine foothills, low plateaus and the Sardinia Island. In the lowlands, hills, and low mountains of the Ligurian and Tyrrhenian Seas coasts, red-colored Mediterranean soils have formed on limestone, which is especially suitable for growing fruit trees and grapes. There are soils formed on volcanic rocks. Alluvial soils are common in river valleys. The soil conditions in Italy are pretty favorable for agriculture, although not everywhere equally. The soils are most fertile on the plains and in low-hilly areas.

## 2.6 Geography of Flora and Fauna of the Apennine Peninsula

The vegetation of Italy is even more diverse. However, the dense population and centuries-old human activity have led to cultural landscapes prevailing everywhere in the country, except for the highlands. Forests occupy only 30% of the territory, mainly in the mountains and hills, while the plains are practically treeless. The somewhat monotonous landscape of the densely populated and almost entirely cultivated Padan plain is enlivened in some places by oak, less often birch or pine groves. Avenues of poplars, willows, and white acacias line roads, canal banks, and rivers. Evergreen trees and shrubs stretch across the coastal lowlands of the Apennine Peninsula and the islands. The wild species here include evergreen stone and cork oaks, pines and Alpine pines, mastic trees, palm trees, cacti, and agaves. However, cultivated species predominate here, primarily subtropical ones—citrus fruits, almond, olives, pomegranate, figs, and cork oak groves planted by humans.

The altitude zone is clearly visible in the mountains of Italy. Since the Alps and the Apennines are located in different natural zones, the belt of subtropical vegetation is characteristic only of the foothills of the Apennines. At an altitude of 500–800 meters above sea level in the Apennines, subtropical vegetation is replaced by broad-leaved forests. In the Alps, they represent the lower vegetation belt. These are mainly oak forests with chestnut, hornbeam, ash, and beech admixture. Among the cultivated plants in this belt, fruit trees and vineyards are common, and rye, oats, and potatoes are sown. The belt of mixed coniferous-beech forests begins above. Their lower limit is 900 m in the Alps and 2000 m in the Apennines. Herds graze among the beech groves in spring and autumn; they are driven even higher in summer. At an altitude of about 1,500 meters in the Alps and 2,000 meters in the Southern Apennines and Sicily, the highest forest belt begins—coniferous forests consisting of various types of pine, European species of spruce, and fir. Above the coniferous forests, subalpine tallgrass meadows begin. They give way to alpine meadows. The Alps are especially famous for their rich and lush mountain meadows. Mountain meadows are used as summer pastures. The slopes are covered with mosses and lichens above the mountain meadows to the very peaks or glaciers. More often than in the Alps, there are exposed slopes in the Apennines, resulting from deforestation, erosion, and landslides.

Due to the destruction of forests, the increase in population density, and the area of cultivated land on the Apennine Peninsula, few wild animals have been preserved. Bears, wolves, chamois, and roe deer are found only in remote areas of the Alps and Apennines, mainly in nature reserves, while mouflon, fallow deer, wildcat, wild boar, and foxes are standard on the island of Sardinia. Small predators and rodents, such as weasels, martens, marmots, squirrels, and hares, have been much better preserved. Hedgehogs and bats are ubiquitous. The world of reptiles and birds is rich. Italy is full of lizards, snakes, and turtles. The bird fauna includes about 400 species. There are grouse, hawks, vultures, and golden eagles in the mountains. Capercaillies, grouse, white partridges, and swifts nest in the highlands of the Alps. There are many geese and ducks on the plains, along the shores of lakes. Of marine fish, mullet, cod, sardines, tuna, and flounder are of great commercial importance, as are river fish, carp, trout, and eel.

## 2.7 Conclusion

In summary, Chapter 2's results show that the Apennine Peninsula occupies a strategically important position in the center of the Mediterranean Sea, which contributed to the development of trade, cultural contacts, and military campaigns. Proximity to other major ancient civilizations (Greece, Egypt, and Phoenicia) accelerated knowledge and technology exchange.

Despite the predominance of a mountainous landscape (the Apennine Mountains), the peninsula has extensive fertile lowlands, such as the Latium, Campanian, and Padano-Venetian plains, which have become centers of agriculture and urban development. The mountains also provide natural protection from invasions.

The Mediterranean climate, with mild, humid winters and hot, dry summers, favored the development of agriculture, including the cultivation of grapes, olives, cereals, and fruits. Favorable climatic conditions contributed to high crop productivity, which became the basis of the economy and sustainable development of society.

Part of the territory's volcanic origin (the areas of Vesuvius and Etna) provided fertile soils, especially in Campania and Latium, which contributed to active agriculture. The soils of the Padan plain, rich in silt, favored the cultivation of grain crops and the development of agricultural societies.

Thus, a combination of geographical factors—advantageous location, availability of fertile lands, favorable climate, and protected terrain—ensured the prosperity of civilizations on the Apennine Peninsula from Ancient Rome to the present day.

## **Chapter 3**

### **Economic and Social Characteristics of Ancient Rome from 2800 BC to the 3rd Century**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

Ancient Rome is one of the most significant examples of the historical development of statehood, economy, and social structure in the ancient world. Its history spans over two thousand years, starting with its legendary foundation in 753 BC and up to the fall of the Western Roman Empire in 476 AD. However, the roots of the formation of ancient Roman society and its economic relations are much more profound, making studying this period especially important for understanding the evolution of power, economy, and social organization in the ancient era.

This chapter analyzes the economic and social characteristics of Ancient Rome over a long historical period – from 2800 BC to the 3rd century AD. For the convenience of reviewing the material, the chapter is divided into several key aspects covering political and geographical features, the evolution of government institutions, and the formation of economic relations.

The first section of the chapter examines the political and geographical features of the various stages of the development of the ancient Roman state. In the beginning, Rome was a small settlement on the Apennine Peninsula, which gradually turned into a powerful state encompassing the entire Mediterranean region and a significant part of Europe. Identifying stages allows us to trace the dynamics of the territory's growth, the mechanisms of colonization and expansion, and the impact of geographical location on economic development.

The second section is devoted to the emergence and evolution of the institution of power. Ancient Rome's political structure underwent a problematic path of transformations: from the early monarchy and tribal system through the republican form of government to the centralized imperial power. In the process of this evolution, the mechanisms of public administration, the systems of civil law, and legal institutions were formed, which determined the functioning of society and the economy.

The third section reveals the economic characteristics of Ancient Rome's economy, starting from the Etruscan period and ending in the 3rd century AD. It analyzes the formation of economic relations, the development of agriculture, trade, crafts, financial mechanisms, and the tax system. Rome's economic model included complex interactions between various social strata, slave-owning structures, and external and internal trade flows.

Thus, this chapter is a comprehensive study of the economic and social aspects of Ancient Rome, revealing the patterns of its development and the functioning of key institutions. Thanks to a detailed analysis, it is possible to understand the specifics of the Roman economy and society and identify essential patterns that influenced the further development of civilization in the Mediterranean and Europe.

## **3.2 Political and Geographical Characteristics of the Stages of Development of the Ancient Roman State**

### ***3.2.1 The Initial Stage (28th–8th Centuries BC)***

At the moment, there are still discussions about the emergence of the first settlements on the territory of the Apennine Peninsula, that is, the time of the beginning of the expansion since no development chains of any ancient peoples have been found on the peninsula, using the example of sites or small settlements. The history and economy of Italy and the entire Apennine Peninsula for 2,800 years have been determined by its geographical location. Most of the peninsula has a hilly terrain with a low mountain chain stretching along the entire Apennines. The most fertile and cultivable lands are on the western coast of the three small plains of the Arno, Valturno, and Tiber. Since about 7000 BC, settlements of Central European peoples began to appear in the Apennines. They were Italians. They had to migrate through the Alpine Mountains – rather inconvenient and high passes, mainly in the summer, as in winter, this process became extremely dangerous due to frequent snowfalls and avalanches in the area. Initially, the Latins advanced and occupied the plain along the Tyrrhenian Sea.

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\* Mommsen, 1906



The Umbra and Sabela were already moving behind them, having to settle for the more rugged mountainous terrain. The area occupied by the Latins was bounded on the west by the Tyrrhenian Sea, on the south and east by the mountain ranges of the Apennines, and on the north, it ended in a vast plain. The Umbro-Sabelian tribes advanced from the north and reached the riverbed of the Tiber. However, most of the Umbers and Sabels stopped in the Po River valley. The territory occupied by the Umbra and Sabela was characterized by poor climatic conditions, which contributed to the occurrence of diseases such as fever and plague. However, reasonably good soil fertility forced them to put up with adversity for almost a thousand years before the arrival of the Etruscans. Later, displaced by the Etruscans and Latins, they moved to the east and the central parts of the Apennine Mountains, where the tribes of the Abruzzi already lived. In the end, this led to the stratification of the Umbers and Sabels and the emergence of some new tribes – Samnites, Picentines, Hyrpines, Marsians, and many others.

After about 1000–1100 years, the Etruscans, or Razennas, appeared on the northeastern coast of the peninsula. Little is known about the origin of these tribes. It is assumed that they came to the territory of present-day Italy from Asia Minor, founding the Etruria civilization between the coast and the valley of the Tiber River. This territory was assigned to them only because the Celts, who had their own views on new undeveloped areas, stopped advancing south of the Po River valley. The Etruscans also partially settled south of the Latin possessions along the Tyrrhenian Sea coast and in the Po River valley. They practically displaced the Umbers and Sabels to the eastern slopes of the peninsula's mountains. Later, in 800–400 BC, the Etruscans created large cities, uniting them in the struggle with Rome for influence in the Apennines. The Etruscans belonged to the Indo-European language group, but their language, religion, and appearance differed significantly from the Latins. Etruria was not a single state but a union of 12 independent city-states, the largest of which were Arretium, Perugia, Volsinia, Caere, Tarquinium, Clusium, and Veii. In the 7th century BC, the Etruscans began to spread their influence to neighboring areas. Their cities appeared in Campania and the north of the peninsula, in the valley of the Po River. Capua, Nola, Felsina, Mantua, and Spina were the most significant centers of that time.

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Zaessky, 1961

The colonization of the Apennine Peninsula experienced a rebirth around 750 BC when the Ionians and Dorians, immigrants from the southern part of Greece, settled on the peninsula's southern coast and the eastern part of the island of Sicily. The territories of Cumae and the Region on the peninsula, Zancle, Katana, Naks, Leontina, and Himera on the island were occupied by the Ionians, and Tarentum by the Dorians. The Achaeans occupied Sybaris. At about the same time, the Phoenicians settled the eastern part of Sicily and the southern coast of Sardinia. However, all these peoples did not become significant in the history of Ancient Rome.

Around 500 BC, the third and final stage of colonization of the Apennines began. By this time, the Gauls had already conquered vast areas that included today's borders of France, Spain, Ireland, and even beyond the Danube River Valley. The Gallic tribes of the Insubri, Boii, and Senones moved east across the Rhine and south through the Alpine Mountains and occupied the valley of the Po River. Then, they gradually began to move south, pushing back the Etruscans and Umbrian tribes.

### ***3.2.2 The Stage of Ancient Roman Expansion during the Republic (8th–1st Centuries BC)***

According to the accepted date, the city of Rome was founded in 753 BC. It appeared on the site of several settlements founded by Latin immigrants about 25 km from the mouth of the Tiber River. This place had an island and a ford across the Tiber. Higher up the riverbed, the river was too shallow for navigation. The oldest settlements arose on seven hills. The first of the inhabited hills was the Palatine, not the closest to the Tiber meander but the most convenient for viewing the river valley. The hills closest to the riverbed were the Aventine and Capitoline hills. Just south of the Palatine Hill was the Caelian Hill, and the Esquiline, Viminal, and Quirinal hills represented the northeastern region. For more than 400 years, Rome became the center of the great civilization of the Italians, conceding to its neighbor the largest Latin city of Alba Longa. After 243 years of Etruscan rule over Rome, during which the city became the

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<sup>1</sup> Avdiev, 1971.

prosperous center of the peninsula, the Latins made it an independent republic, inheriting much from their former rulers<sup>4</sup>

In 510 BC, the period of territorial development of civilization began. All the changes in the territorial and geographical position of the Roman Republic and later the Roman Empire were associated with successful or unsuccessful military campaigns. The trade and economic aspects of the expansion of possessions also took place. Around 494 BC, an increase in the number of citizens and funds prompted the Romans to establish colonies southeast of Rome. This is how Velletri, Suessa (Cecca), Norba, and Segni arose. In 442 BC, as a result of this action, Guernica joined the union, and Rutuli was enslaved with the central city of Ardea. In terms of military campaigns, Rome first joined the union of the cities of Latium because of its defeat at Lake Regillus in 496 BC. However, already in 400 BC, he became the leading force of the Latin Union and doubled his possessions, expanding them along the coast and deepening into the slopes of the Apennines. In 338 BC, with the support of the Samnites, Rome finally destroyed the Union and became the rightful owner of the territories. 17 years later, the Samnites themselves fell victim to the Romans when Naples turned to the great city for help<sup>5</sup>. For forty years, they fought against the allies of the Samnites, Gauls, and Etruscans and, having achieved victory, consolidated their influence in Central and Northern Italy.

Rome's policy has always been ambivalent: "We will help if it is beneficial." Under a similar slogan, Rome's leaders annexed or captured new cities and territories<sup>6</sup>. By 264 BC, Rome had gained a dominant position on the entire peninsula and was recognized as a decisive power in the Mediterranean. This was facilitated by the victory over the city of Tarentum, whose interests Pyrrhus, king of Epirus in Northern Greece, was called upon to protect. While Rome became the most powerful in the Apennine Peninsula, the Carthaginians influenced the western Mediterranean. It was founded back in 814 BC, Phoenicians from the Middle East. A peaceful neighborhood became strategically impossible in 264 BC, and the three Punic Wars (from the Roman name of the Phoenicians) began. The goal of the first war was to dominate the island of Sicily. It

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<sup>4</sup> Mommsen, 200.

<sup>5</sup> Mommsen, 139-4.

<sup>6</sup> Sergeenko, 96-4.

lasted 11 years. As a result of Carthage's surrender, Rome received its first overseas territory and financial compensation for 10 years. However, Rome was not satisfied with this and expanded its possessions by capturing the islands of Sardinia and Corsica in 238 BC<sup>7</sup>.

In 218 BC, the Carthaginian commander Hannibal, using the territories of the Iberian Peninsula captured by him, crossed the Pyrenees Mountains, the coast of France, into the Ford of the Rhone River, and invaded the Alps into the northeastern possessions of the Roman Republic, starting the second Punic War. The stunned Romans suffered defeat after defeat but managed to counterattack, landing first on the Iberian Peninsula and then reaching Carthage itself. In 202 BC, in the Loan, the Romans defeated the Carthaginians, taking possession of Spain, and during the third and final war they conquered all the territories of Carthage in North Africa. Beginning in 215 BC, Rome began to intensively and fiercely exert dominance in the Mediterranean. In 168 BC, Macedonia and Achaia finally disappeared from the political map of Europe, becoming provinces of the Roman Republic. In 146 BC, during the third Punic War, Numidia and Africa, or Carthage, were annexed to Rome. 13 years later, the powerful influence of the Apennine state forced the king of Pergamon, whose territories spread across the western part of Asia Minor, to bequeath his possessions to Rome. The process of seizing the peninsula continued further. First, in 102 BC, Cilicia joined the union in the south of the peninsula. In the period from 75 to 64 BC, Rome was able to cover the entire Middle East, annexing Bithynia and Pontus in the north of Asia Minor, and Cyprus and Syria in the south. During the same period, the republic expanded its lands in a northerly direction. So, Narbonne Gaul, or now Provence, became part of the possessions in 121 BC. In the next 50 years, the Romans conquered all of Gaul from the Rhine River valley to the Pyrenees Mountains. The expansion was particularly successful during the reign of Gaius Julius Caesar. He completed the annexation of Gallic lands in Europe. However, not all of Gaul was conquered under Caesar. It was not until 42 BC that Pre-Alpine Gaul, located on the southern slopes of the Alps, joined the Roman Republic<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Skazkin et al., 1970-71.

<sup>8</sup> Kovalev, 1948a.

The expansion of Rome's possessions to the south also did not stop with the annexation of Carthaginian territories in the past. The king of Cyrene, located on the territory of modern Eastern Libya, Ptolemy Apion, bequeathed his state to Rome, and in 96 BC it became the province of Cyrenaica. In 30 BC Octavian conquered Egypt, completing the territorial separation of the Roman Republic. Thus, by the time the Roman Republic became an empire, its geographical position had changed markedly compared to the time of the formation of Rome and its hegemony in Latium. By 14 BC The Roman state consisted of many large provinces<sup>9</sup>

1. In the continental part of Europe, the Central Roman Province occupied the territory of almost the modern Italian Republic, starting from the southern foothills of the Alpine Mountains and ending with the island of Sicily. Narbonne Gaul stretched along the French Mediterranean coast, being a geographically very advantageous province both in terms of climatic conditions and trade routes. It united territories from Monte Hivera in the Central Massif in the south to the English Channel coast in the north and from the valley of the middle and lower Rhine River in the northeast to the Pyrenees Mountains in the southwest. Cartagena, or Spain, was taken from Carthage and encompassed almost the entire Iberian Peninsula except for the northern territories fenced off from the peninsula by the Cantabrian Mountains. Macedonia was a remnant of the once majestic empire of Alexander the Great, located in the northern part of Greece and Albania between 41 and 39 north latitudes. With its capital, Corinth, Achaia bordered the province of Macedonia from the south and occupied territories along the coast of the Gulf of Corinth and the entire Peloponnese Peninsula.

2. Rome's island provinces were only Mediterranean. Sardinia and Corsica are islands with identical names and are located east of the Apennine Peninsula. Crete and Cyprus, also located east of the Apennine Peninsula, were also island provinces. However, they had already lost both their economic power and political balance, and their affiliation became a natural and irreversible process of Mediterranean expansion rather than a territorial interest of Rome.

3. An essential springboard for economic relations with Asia was the eastern provinces, which at the same time were a fort against possible territorial claims of their

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<sup>9</sup> Strabo, 1972

neighbors. Pergamon was located in the very west of Asia Minor overlooking the Marmara Sea, the Dardanelles Strait, and partly the Aegean Sea. Bithynia was twice the size of its neighbor and stretched north and east along the Marmara and Black Seas to Cape Givae extending 100–120 km deep into the peninsula. The Pontic province continued Roman possessions along the Black Sea for another hundred kilometers but to a greater extent, deepened Rome's influence on the population of Asia Minor. Cilicia already stretched in the south of the peninsula across the territory of present-day Antalya, serving as a natural economic bridge between Northeast Africa and Asia Minor. The province of Syria completed the expansion of Rome in the east of the Mediterranean, leaving only the little-used lands of Lebanon and Palestine to the south.

4. Rome's southern territories were bounded west by 5,000 BC and east by the Red Sea and the Suez Peninsula. Numidia was Rome's westernmost province in Africa, extending hundreds of kilometers into the desert. The province of Africa was the remnants of the previously powerful empire of Carthage. It stretched all the way to the Gulf of Sidra, gradually approaching the coast with its borders. Cyrenaica was not inferior in area to Egypt, but it was located in less favorable territorial conditions. Egypt is the easternmost of Rome's African provinces and went deeper into the continent than all the others, up to the middle reaches of the White and Blue Nile.

Thus, using the example of the listed provinces, which designated the border territories, we see that the geographical position of the Roman state, the republic, and then the empire can be described as follows. The Roman state of the turn of the era was located in the Mediterranean area, encompassing Western and Southern Europe, Northeast Africa, and Asia Minor. The northernmost possessions stretched to the English Channel, and the southern ones to the middle reaches of the tributaries of the Nile: the White and the Blue. The enormous latitude of the territory and the diversity of relief and climate created a heterogeneity in the economic situation and development of the provinces with the same type of government institutions for all parts of the state. The northern part of the state was more elevated and partly mountainous, with a large number of narrow alluvial fertile valleys and alpine-type meadows, which contributed to the development of focal agriculture, grain and fruit farming, as well as viticulture, and pasture-based animal husbandry. The eastern and southern parts of Rome were

characterized by a dry hot climate in hilly areas, which made farming extremely difficult

### 3.2.3 *The Stage of Ancient Roman Expansion during the Empire (27 BC—476 AD)*

The period of the ancient Roman Republic ended at the beginning of the reign of Octavian. In 27 BC he became emperor and took the name Augustus. During his reign until 14 AD, the territories of the state expanded: the northern areas were annexed on the Iberian Peninsula, possessions in Central Europe advanced to the Danube riverbed, and in the east, the interior territories of the Asia Minor peninsula and the entire coast of Lebanon and Palestine were already captured. The Roman Empire reached its most significant area by 117 under the reign of Emperor Trojan. Arithmetically, the territory has increased by 50 percent in 130 years. It is necessary to consider the administrative-territorial division of the empire during this time period.

1 The western part of the empire already covered the entire Iberian Peninsula, the territory of modern France, Belgium, and the Netherlands. Spain, Aquitaine and Lugdunan Gaul were considered the largest provinces in terms of territory. The province of Betica was located in the south of the Pyrenees, occupying the territory of modern Andalusia. Lusitania bordered Betica in the west and mainly stretched across the territory of modern Portugal. Tarraconian Spain covered all other territories of the Iberian Peninsula north of Betica and Lusitania. The French territory was divided into the province of Narbonne, which stretched along the Mediterranean coast, Aquitaine in the southwest and Lugdunan Gaul in the center and northwest. Belgica covered the territory of modern Belgium, the Netherlands, and Germany up to the Rhenish Slate Mountains. Lower Germany was the northernmost territory of this region and bordered Belgium to the east<sup>10</sup>

2 The northern part of the Roman Empire was represented by only one province of Britain, which was located on the island of Great Britain and extended to the modern northern borders of England.

3 The central provinces of Rome were distinguished by their numbers and fragmentation. Among their large number, Italy was the most significant in terms of

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<sup>10</sup>Mommsen, 200.

territorial location and size. This region of the empire occupied the southern part of Central Europe, the Danube region, and the adjacent islands of the Mediterranean. The province of Italy expanded from the era of the republic, joining the islands of Corsica and Sardinia, but separating Sicily from its composition; the Maritime Alps, Celtic Alps, and the Pennine Alps were purely mountainous areas and bordered Italy in the northwest. In the north, Italy was connected from west to east with the provinces of Upper Germany, Raetia, Noricum and Pannonia, located on the territory of modern Southern Germany, Switzerland, Austria and Slovakia; the Carpathian part of the Danube region was less divided and consisted of three large provinces: North Dacia in Hungary, Moesia in Romania and Thrace, located in Bulgaria and all the way to the Marmara Sea. The Balkan part of the Danube region consisted of four provinces—Illyria, Dalmatia in Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, which was located on the site of present-day Macedonia and Northern Greece, Epirus, which occupied the territory of Albania, and Achaia in Central and Southern Greece.

4. The insular part of the Roman Empire still included three small provinces, each of which received its specialization through economic and trade reforms. These were Sicily, located south of the Apennine Peninsula and separated from it by the Strait of Messina; Crete, located southeast of the Peloponnese peninsula; and Cyprus, located in the eastern waters of the Mediterranean Sea.

5. The Asian territory of the empire expanded the most in comparison with the republican possessions of Rome. Now, it was spreading to the Caucasus Mountains and Mesopotamia. The peninsula of Asia Minor was divided into seven provinces. Bithynia covered almost the entire southern Black Sea coast, and Asia—the entire coast of the Aegean Sea. The center and northeast of the peninsula are divided by the provinces of Galatia and Cappadocia. The Mediterranean coast of Asia Minor had three provinces: Lycia, Pamphylia, and Lycia. The eastern part of the territory in the north was defined by the province of Armenia, which stretched from the Armenian Highlands to the Caucasus Mountains. In the upper reaches of the Euphrates River, it bordered the province of Mesopotamia, and in the valley of Lakes Van and Urmia, it bordered

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<sup>11</sup> Avdiev, [97].

<sup>12</sup> Sergeenko, 2000.



Assyria. Further to the southeast, they crossed into the province of Babylonia, which overlooked the Persian Gulf through the Mesopotamian lowlands. The Arabian part of the territory is completely closed. The northern province of Syria was replaced by Phoenicia, and to the south by Judea. The end of this belt was the province of Arabia, which skirted Judea from the east and occupied the entire Sinai Peninsula.<sup>3</sup>

6 The African, or Southern, territory already covered the entire northern coast of the continent, reducing its possessions concerning the interior. Tingitan Mauritania occupied the modern Central and Eastern Morocco territory, and Caesarean Mauritania occupied the north coast of Algeria. The provinces of Numidia and Africa retained their territories, while Cyrenaica and Egypt shrank as they approached the coast.

These borders remained unchanged until the end of the Roman Empire when barbarian tribes – the Avars, Huns, Ostrogoths, Vandals, and Visigoths – began to invade the empire from the north and northeast. This process began in the 4th century A.D. and lasted for more than a hundred years. In 476, the reign of the Roman emperors officially ended due to the overthrow of the last emperor of the Western Roman Empire, Romulus Augustulus Odoacer.

Thus, the Roman Empire expanded its possessions to the maximum, subjugating almost the entire Mediterranean and including the lands of Western and Central Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East. Naturally, following socio-political laws, such a vast territory, captured in a relatively short period of time, could not become a politically stable state. Even the relative physical and geographical homogeneity of the territory could not disguise the ethnic heterogeneity and social fragmentation of the provinces.

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<sup>3</sup> Skazkin et al. 1970: 71

### **3.3 The Emergence and Evolution of the Institution of Power in the Ancient Roman State**

#### **3.3.1 The Period of Formation of Power and Civil Law**

The institution of government of Ancient Rome was conceived in Etruria. The Etruscan civilization has reached us only partially through archaeological excavations and research by ancient Roman philosophers. It is known that even before the rise of Rome, these people had a monarchical system. The king ruled the territories, leading his assistants and governors. The Etruscans originally introduced the same form of government to Rome, ruling it for more than two hundred years. Etruria was a great power in the ancient world. However, even at the time of its peak, it did not represent a single and centralized state. The Etruscans joined the urban civilization from an early age. Each Etruscan city led an independent and independent existence on the principle of a city-state. However, while strengthening their power, a federation of twelve cities emerged, the connecting thread of which was only a common religion. The Etruscan cities were ruled first by kings, and then by a college of elected officials, the *zanth*. Power was in the hands of noble families, that is, their elders, the *Lukumons*<sup>4</sup>.

At the beginning of the formation of Ancient Rome, its state structure was in many ways similar to that of the Etruscan state. According to Roman concepts, the state needed a full-fledged head. The only legal limitation on the king's power was that he could only apply laws, not change them. The *tsar* had the right and was obliged to appoint his successor. Otherwise, the College of Fathers offered citizenship to the king, and if the community agreed, he became king.<sup>5</sup> Citizens were equal among themselves; there were no class differences. This was a feature of the Latin nation. It was explained by the fact that the Latins found no other way to subjugate him at the site of their settlement. Non-citizens in the Roman community were utterly disenfranchised. The institution of government relied only on citizens, starting from making general decisions and ending with the universal duty of service. However, citizens did not pay monetary taxes. Non-citizens paid contributions to the royal treasury for their protection. Other

<sup>4</sup> Ziaessky, 1949

<sup>5</sup> Mommsen, 1906

revenues of the tsar consisted of customs duties and payments for the use of plots of public land. Government expenditures were low due to the lack of payment for services to the community. The tsar convened a national assembly at least twice a year. The people only agreed to the tsar's proposals or rejected them. The issues of the war and changes in legislation were being resolved. The three ancient Roman communities were divided into ten *cunae*, each with special trustees and priests. Recruits gathered at the *cuna*, meetings took place, and current affairs were discussed. Since Rome had been considered to have 300 families since ancient times, there were also 300 senators. The Senate consisted of elders or fathers of families. A lot of the senators chose a temporary king. If within five days, he did not have time to choose a person to reign, he himself appointed a subsequent temporary king. The Senate was an employee of the tsar, from which the tsar mainly chose his direct assistants. The primary purpose of the Senate was that it was the guardian of legality from the king and the community. The Senate could refuse to approve any resolution of the community.<sup>16</sup> Consequently, it became necessary for the kings to obtain the preliminary opinion of the Senate on some issue. However, before Servius Tullius, with his administrative reform, there was another stage in the development of the institution of public administration. All 300 Roman clans were divided into 30 *cunae*, which in turn were divided into three tribes. According to Niebuhr, it was this division into tribes that reflected the actual origin of the state from the original three tribes, or communities. Based on the names of the tribes, Tithia and Lucera, Niebuhr considered them to be a union of Latin, Sabellian, and Etruscan clans. All of them made up *populus Romanus*.

It is necessary to consider the social structure at this stage of the Roman state. All the citizens of Rome consisted of patricians, the most privileged inhabitants, and *clientes*, who consisted of the impoverished part of the Romans and those who, having arrived there, found a patron in the person of a patrician. The plebeians were not citizens but newcomers. They were free people, obligated to serve, and had the right to own land. Later, they also received the political rights of the state. The example of Pompeii shows that some of the plebeians, taking advantage of the situation, enriched themselves and edificiously joined the tribune of the patricians. The 6th Roman king, Servius Tullius, a

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<sup>16</sup> Nemirovskiy, 1959

representative of the Etruscan dynasty, carried out a fundamental reform of the institution of power. He introduced a new structure of the Roman community based on its territorial and property division. The urban area was divided into four tribes. The tribes were territorial districts and were no longer related to the old tribal concepts. The entire civilian population who lived there and owned the land was assigned to the new districts. They included both patricians and plebeians. As a result, the latter were already included in the united civil community with the patricians.

The entire population of Rome was divided into five property classes. They were determined by the property valuation in aces, copper coins weighing 327.5 g. Consider the criteria for division into classes:

First class—100,000 aces;

Second class—75,000 aces;

Third class—50,000 aces;

Fourth class—25,000 aces;

Fifth grade—12,500 aces<sup>18</sup>

The poorer strata of the population were not part of these classes, having received a unique name—proletarians (from the Latin word *proles*—offspring). At the same time, *Tullius* reformed the army structure, linking it to the new class system. The military significance of the reform lay in the fact that each property class fielded a certain number of centuries or hundreds. The ratio was as follows:

First class—80 centuries of infantrymen and 18 centuries of horsemen;

Second class—20 centuries of infantrymen;

Third class—20 centuries of infantrymen;

Fourth class—20 centuries of infantrymen;

Fifth class—30 centuries of lightly armed infantrymen;

Proletarians—1 non-combatant century<sup>19</sup>

In total, the army had 188 centuries and from 1 to 5 non-combatant centuries. *Tullius* made the century a political unit at the same time. The popular vote was now

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Neumirovskiy, 1959

<sup>18</sup> Sereni, 1955

<sup>19</sup> Sereni, 1955

conducted by century. Centuriate committees have become the most widespread and popular type of national assembly. Each century had one vote. Therefore, the first class received an absolute advantage in a unanimous vote—98 against 8,570.

Thus, by the time the administrative system changed from tsarist to republican in ancient Rome, an institution of power had already been formed based on a clear differentiation of the population by class and a specific pattern of influence on state policy by the most powerful stratum of the population, that is, the patricians.

### ***3.3.2 The Institute of Political Power and Civil Law in the Republican Era (6th–1st Centuries BC)***

In 509 BC, ancient Rome became a republic. However, remnants of communal land ownership persisted for a long time. The bulk of the land was considered to belong to the entire population, that is, to the patrician community. The patricians had the right to borrow land plots from the public field fund for themselves and their clients. The Fund was constantly growing due to the occupied Italian territories. Therefore, the right to occupy land plots from this fund has become the primary source of extensive land holdings. The Plebeians had nothing to do with the occupation. This clearly did not suit them. In 494 BC, the Plebeians' refusal to participate in a military operation led to the weakening of the army. The patricians of Rome were forced to make concessions. The magistracy of the People's Tribune, a defender of the interests and rights of the plebs, was created.<sup>80</sup> The tribunes were elected only by the plebeians themselves, enjoyed inviolability, and had the right to veto the orders of all other officials. In 471 BC, as a result of the Plebeian struggle for rights, the Publican laws appeared, according to which the old vote on the curia in favor of the aristocrats was replaced by a vote on the newly established tribes, of which 31 were established. All citizens voted in the tribes, weakening the aristocracy's influence. In 450 BC, the legislation of the XII Tables was developed. Then, over about two centuries, additional laws took place, resulting in a complete equalization of the rights of the plebeians with the patricians. Here are some of those that have survived to our day:

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<sup>80</sup> Kovalev, 1948a.

1 The Law of the Tribune of the People Canuleius from 445 BC which allowed marriages between patricians and plebeians;

2 The law of Licinius and Sextius, which was formed for 9 years, proposed to limit the ownership of public land to 500 jugers, 125 hectares, to count the interest already paid by debtors against the debt, and to elect one of the consuls from the plebeians.

3 The Petelia Law of 326 BC which prohibited the sale of slaves for debts;

4 Hortensius Law of 287 BC stated that the decisions of the plebeian assemblies on the tribunes acquire the force of law for all citizens.

Now it is necessary to look at the political structure of the early Roman Republic. It was not much different from tsarist Rome. The authority of two annually elected magistrates replaced the king's sole authority. At first they were called praetors, and then consuls. Almost all the power of the kings, except for the priestly power, passed to the consuls. However, it is worth noting that the consuls also lost some privileges.

1 After the expiration of his term of office, he could be brought to trial for crimes;

2 They could not impose the cultivation of their lands on citizens;

3 They were obliged to grant prisoners the right to appeal.

Other positions were gradually formed, such as the People's Tribune. Consuls appointed quaestors who managed the Institute of Justice and later managed the treasury. All three types of national assemblies, or committees, are preserved. During the republic, the Senate gained special significance as an organ of the patrician-plebeian elite. His approval was considered absolutely necessary for all decisions, the validity of which was longer than the term of office of this consul. The number of senators remained at 300. New senators were appointed by consuls, as under the tsar. All Romans, except for slaves and foreigners, were listed according to the curia, after which formal acts were established: the approval of wills and adoptions, the oath to the consul, and the like.

Gradually the structure of Roman society changed. The reason for this was

1 Drastic expansion of the republic's territory;

Kovalev, 1948b

<sup>1</sup> Kovalev, 1948b

<sup>2</sup> Litchenko, 1951

2. A large number of clients and slaves.
3. Mixing of many cultures.
4. Bringing innovations from the economic and legal systems of the invaded states.

As a result, the class struggle became more and more acute. Slaves were included in the activities of all spheres of society – from construction and agriculture to pedagogy and philosophy. Urban slaves have already begun to enjoy some privileges, such as the withdrawal to pecul, that is, the allocation of property to the slaves for independent farming. A layer of businessmen, entrepreneurs, and merchants began to form among the new shopkeepers and farmers. The slaves joined them as “intelligentsia,” teachers, actors, poets, skilled chefs, and jewelers. So, in the 1st century BC, new strata of the population were clearly formed, closely intertwined with the old ones. The patricians and plebeians were joined not only by slaves but also by libertines, freed slaves in the past, and “horsemen,” who included the Roman monetary aristocracy but without pedigree. Many bankers, financiers, merchants, and loan sharks were among the “horsemen.”<sup>14</sup>

In the late republic, the aggregate of full-fledged Roman citizens was considered the bearer of supreme power in the state. The people exercised their rights in the committees. The Curiate comitia, or assembly of patricians, lost its political significance but continued to exist, retaining the function of formally handing over supreme power. The Centuriate Commission, or the patrician-plebeian assembly for property categories, met to resolve foreign policy issues and elect the highest magistrates. The Tribune Commission elected some officials and carried out legislative activities. Only the highest magistrates had the right to convene the committees, direct them, and submit issues for discussion. The Senate, the organ of the nobility, has acquired a considerable role. It was practically the highest state institution. Under Sulla, it grew to 600 senators and, under Julius Caesar, to 900 people. Censors from among former magistrates appointed senators.<sup>15</sup> The competence of the Senate included

1. Confirmation of elected magistrates;

<sup>14</sup> Uchenko, 1986.

<sup>15</sup> Mommsen, 2001.

2. Management of state property and finances.
3. Solving foreign policy issues.
4. Decree of extraordinary powers.
5. Control of religious worship affairs.

The magistrates were the bearers of executive power. The magistracy itself was divided into two categories: higher and lower. The highest magistrates were the consul, the praetor, the censor, and the people's tribune. The master's degrees were also divided into ordinary and extraordinary. If we consider such a classification, then the first included the consul, praetor, tribune of the people, censor, aedile, and quaestor, and the second included the dictator, chief of cavalry, triumvir, and decemvir. Praetors were the highest leaders of the judicial system, and later the rulers of the provinces of Ancient Rome. The Aediles were engaged in urban improvement, including supplying bread to the poorest segments of the population and organizing public games. The quaestors kept an eye on the state treasury. Censors stood out from this list of top positions. They were elected for a year and a half and were in charge of producing a general census, that is, a census. They had the right to monitor the morals of citizens since only the worthiest could be admitted to the number of senators. Extraordinary master's degrees were created only for a certain period of time and with a specific purpose. Such a reason could be a case of extreme danger to the State from outside or inside, or the implementation of legislative acts of broad significance, which were dealt with by decemvirs and triumvirs<sup>26</sup>.

Concluding the description of the magistracy as an element of the institution of Roman power during the late Republic, we list its distinctive features.

- (1) were selective and gratuitous;
- (2) were short term (only censors held their posts for up to a year and a half);
- (3) maintained collegiality;
- (4) had an intercession, when another could cancel an order issued by one magistrate in case of disagreement<sup>27</sup>.

<sup>26</sup> Mommsen, 2001.

<sup>27</sup> Kovalev, 1948a.



Thus, the priestly colleges retained a particular influence on the political life of Rome. The high priests, or pontiffs, were elected in the comitia, and the rest of the positions were in their colleges or appointed by the pontiff himself. The population of Rome-polis began to be divided into citizens by birth and citizens by talent. The latter included individuals and entire communities who received the rights of Roman citizenship by the decision of the comitia or magistrates. They began to include Libertines. The term *caput* defined the full legal capacity of a Roman citizen, that is, *sum*.<sup>28</sup> It consisted of three elements: freedom, citizenship, and family status. As for conducting foreign policy, except for frequent military operations, there is a problem of managing increasingly receding provinces and overseas colonies. The state apparatus of the Roman Republic was entirely unsuited for the management and rational exploitation of a vast territory. As a result, the provincial government system was formed chaotically. Each new governor issued an edict defining the principles of his rule. Rome appointed governors for a year and had entire military, civil, and judicial powers. The lack of control and the vast prospects of embezzlement corrupted the provincial leadership and increasingly distanced them from the realities of state life.

### ***3.3.3 State Structure during the Roman Empire (1st Century BC –5th Century AD)***

In 27 BC, Octavian proclaimed himself emperor and took the name Augustus. From that moment on, the period of the Roman Empire and the decline of its rule began. He reduced the army from 60 to 28 legions to maintain his security and stability in the state. The Legion consisted of 10 cohorts. The first cohort had 800 warriors, and the rest had 480 each.<sup>29</sup> Thus, the entire Roman army was reduced to about 143,000 soldiers. He also created the Praetorian Guard, which was intended to protect the emperor. The Senate had practically lost all its influence in the provinces, as the emperor personally controlled the situation in dangerous areas along the borders. The official functions remained in force, but the democratic approach to solving many issues lost its relevance. Magistracies began to acquire purely executive forms, while the tribes remained a reminder of the republican past. In 284 AD, the Roman general Diocletian divided the empire into Eastern and Western empires, each of which was ruled by its own

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<sup>28</sup> Avdiev, 1971.

**Augustians** The provinces were divided into 116 regions, and the state apparatus was increased to facilitate its management. In 312, the military commander Constantine seized power in Rome and returned to the path of imperial reunification.<sup>29</sup> In 324, he became the only emperor. He declared himself the vicar of Christ and allowed freedom of religion. In 330, he founded the new imperial capital of Constantinople on the shores of the Sea of Marmara. In the second half of the fourth century, constant barbarian raids began. The Roman Empire began to yield under their onslaught of enemies. In 410 and 455, Rome fell and was destroyed twice. In 476, the last Roman emperor, Romulus Augustulus, was overthrown, leading to the final decline of Rome as the great empire of the Mediterranean.<sup>30</sup>

*Thus, the era of the Roman Empire did not become a politically new evolutionary stage in the history of Italy. The renunciation of the republic, its democratic foundations, and the institution of governance and law led to the degradation of domestic and foreign policy relations and antagonism on the part of the provinces and the state apparatus as a whole.*

### **3.4 Economic and Geographical Characteristics of the Economy of Ancient Rome**

#### ***3.4.1 The Formation of Economic Relations in Tsarist Rome***

Italians moved to the Apennine Peninsula as farmers. They considered the rural population to be the backbone of the state. Gradually, the direct descendants of the first inhabitants of Rome lost most of their lands. Then, according to the Servian Reform, all residents were divided into settled owners and proletarians. Initially, the land was communally owned by the clans. Private property included chattels and livestock. Servius also classified the land as private property. The owner was not legally restricted in the disposal of his land. The land was cultivated mainly for the cultivation of spelted, a type of wheat. Winemaking flourished during that era, and olive cultivation began at the end of the imperial period in Rome. Since it was possible to split up the plots,

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<sup>29</sup> Vasilev, 1973.

<sup>30</sup> Mummisen, 189.

therefore, the accumulation of land property was also possible. The wealthier owners did not cultivate it independently but distributed small plots to poor citizens and slaves.<sup>31</sup>

The simplest crafts originated in Rome at the very beginning of the formation of the city. During Numa's time, eight workshops of the most necessary artisans were built. However, according to the Servian Reform, only landowners were recognized as full citizens. The Romans' trade was initially limited to Italy. It was produced at fairs. The main one gathered at Mount Sorakta. The instruments of exchange were bulls and sheep. The course was 1:10. At the same time, copper became the equivalent of the exchange. Overseas trade began when the construction of the first naval vessels began. So, Etruria conducted a lively trade with Africa. Latium traded with the Dorians in the Sicilian colonies. The Latin name for copper and trade loans were shared on the island. Latin merchants often appeared on the island, sailing from the main harbor of Rome.

### ***3.4.2 Characteristics of the National Economy in the Roman Republic***

The changes in developing Roman society had a very slow effect on the technical development of Rome. As before, farming remained the basis of Roman life. Small-scale ownership prevailed, but large farms also began to appear. They used slave labor more often. Wheat took the place of the spelted. Many communities began to print coins. Later, three types were established:

- (1) Northern – coins of the Etruscan and Umbrian tribes;
- (2) Medium – coins of Rome and Latium;
- (3) The southern one.<sup>32</sup>

At first, they got their own names. However, at the beginning of the 3rd century BC, they were united by a single copper coin, "as," in 280 BC. Pyrrhus began to mint a silver coin, "drachma," and later "denarius." Rome was experiencing an acute shortage of silver and other precious metals. However, after significant conquests and the seizure of Spanish silver mines, the Roman state was able to issue silver money regularly. A gold Roman coin appeared at the turn of the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC. The internal

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<sup>31</sup> Nemurovskiy, 1959

<sup>32</sup> Sergeenko, 1968

<sup>33</sup> Sergeenko, 1964

trade was also divided into three similar districts. Handicraft activity in the city of Rome developed more slowly than it could have been. This was because slaves were more often engaged in small-scale crafts since agriculture was still considered a priority.<sup>34</sup>

Now it is necessary to take a closer look at the economy of Rome in the 2nd and 1st centuries BC during the heyday of the republic. Agriculture underwent significant changes during this period. Agriculture was conducted both large and small. Otherwise pasture farming was carried out. About 100 tenths, or 1 100 sq. m. were cultivated in most large estates. The owners sowed wheat, spelled, barley and millet and cultivated vegetables, fodder plants, grapes, olive and fruit plants. 8 slaves were working on such a site. If the farm reached 50 tenths of vineyards, then 12 to 15 slaves would already be working there. Arable land and meadows were often irrigated artificially. The irrigation system later became the beginning of Rome's extensive water supply system. Pasture farming was performed on a very large scale. The cattle have been foraging all year. In summer the herds grazed on the mountains of Samnium, and in winter they were driven south to the valleys of Apulia. Sheep farming especially developed, as the Romans liked to wear woolen clothes.<sup>35</sup>

However, it is worth noting that analytical work on agriculture was already underway at that time on the principles of crops, the number of fertilizers, methods of burrowing, caring for livestock, and others. Columella, Cato, Varro, and Pliny made a unique contribution to the development of the system. For example, Columella, considering the issues of fertilizers, analyzed the classification of fertilizers, the amount of manure needed, the time and principles of its sealing, the description of the manure storage and the territory of the landfill from the stables. The manure storage facilities were pits with a cemented bottom. They were covered from above by the sun's rays.<sup>36</sup> Where there was little manure, it was advised to use compost. Hoeing remained the leading crop production. Beans and other legumes were hoed three times, all cereals, including spelled, twice, barley once, and lentils and chickpeas never. In viticulture, preference was given to the Amme vine, which bore exceptionally well by those

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<sup>34</sup> Sereni, 1955.

<sup>35</sup> Sergeenko, 1975.

<sup>36</sup> Nemirovskiy, 1959.

standards. Columella yielded three furs, or 60 amphorae from one juger. The owner could receive up to 19 percent of the profit at the cheapest wine prices, or 600 sesterces from juger. This led to a policy of gradually reducing wheat crops, especially in southern Italy, and replacing them with vineyards and olive orchards.<sup>37</sup> Cattle breeding was not closely related to agriculture. The Romans used little meat, so the cattle were kept on the estates for the necessary work. It was not bred but bought at fairs. Income from agricultural land was low. The Roman government was interested in lowering the prices of bread and groceries. The defeated nations had to supply millet to Rome. The surplus of products did not allow farmers to inflate prices and compete with cheap exported goods. It turned out that the bread of Sardinia and Sicily could be sold cheaper than that harvested in Etruria and Campania since its cost and volume were much lower. Due to this, in the second century, agriculture in Italy only provided the necessary income when it was conducted in such a way that processing costs were kept to a minimum. For this, it was necessary that the business was conducted on a very large scale and slave labor was used. Under such conditions, small-scale land ownership began to disappear rapidly. The owners of small plots went into viticulture or olive tree cultivation, they tried to find themselves in Rome's export articles. They often simply sold their land to large landowners.<sup>38</sup>

Huge latifundia, which occupied areas of thousands of jugers, became new forms of agriculture. They originated in southern Italy, Sicily, and North Africa, where territories had not yet completed their privatization. Latifundia was poorly connected to the market since everything necessary was produced in them by slaves, clients, and debtors. However, Italy remained characterized by large estates of a more modest size, often called villas. It is necessary to describe one of these ordinary villas. The estate according to Cato had a complex economy. The olive grove occupied 140 jugers, or 60 hectares, and the vineyards 100 jugers, or 25 hectares. There was also a grain farm and pastures for livestock. 13 employees took care of the olive grove and more than 16 people took care of the vineyards. The villa development's reverse side was the peasants' dispossession and pauperization. They gradually became tenants or day

<sup>37</sup> Gedaht, 2004.

<sup>38</sup> Sergeenko, 1958.

laborers and farmhands. The latter could not count on permanent earnings, as their labor was used only seasonally. Consequently, vast masses of villagers went to the city.<sup>39</sup>

The monetary economy has received a unique development in the republic. Since the time of Cato, many bankers have operated in Rome and its provinces, acting as intermediaries in commercial and industrial enterprises and monetary settlements. Foreign trade developed due to natural causes and the absence of duties for the Romans and Latins. Foreign trade relations grew so much that silver gradually lost its value. In 157 BC, Treasury reserves amounted to 17.5 thousand Roman pounds of gold and 40.3 thousand pounds of silver at a gold-to-silver exchange rate of almost 12 to 1. Rome traded not only with subordinate territories, such as the Pyrenees and Gaul, but also with many large Hellenic states even before their enslavement or annexation. At first, Rome traded with Egypt. Then, the islands of Rhodes and Corinth joined this trade union. After the destruction of Carthage and Corinth, from where jewelry and dates were exported, Delos became the most significant trading center. Associations of Italian merchants, Campanians, and South Italian Greeks arose in this polis, which had the character of trade and religious associations<sup>40</sup>. The formation of commercial, monetary, and usurious capital was helped by receiving treasury contributions, military booty, and the plunder of conquered countries and cities. Here are two examples of such contributions. The First Punic War ended with the imposition of an indemnity of 3,200 talents, or 83.8 tons of gold, on Carthage, and after the Second Punic War, 10,000 talents, or 262 tons of gold. The Syrian king Antiochus III was forced to pay off 15,000 talents, or almost 400 tons of gold. The second example is the indemnity imposed as a result of the victory of the Roman commander Gaius Marius over the Galatians of Asia Minor in 197 BC: gold crowns weighing 212 Roman pounds or almost 70 kg, silver weighing 220 thousand pounds, or almost 22 tons, gold 2,103 pounds, or 687.7 kg, 127 thousand Attic tetradrachms, 250 cystophores, or 750 drachmas, 16,320 phrippics, Macedonian coins recognized in Rome. This allowed the triumphant to pay each soldier 42 denarii, each centurion 85 denarii, and the horsemen 125 denarii<sup>41</sup>. The countries conquered by the

<sup>39</sup> Giedaj, 2004.

<sup>40</sup> Sergeenko, 1949.

<sup>41</sup> Mommsen, 1871; Mommsen, 1906.

Romans received the status of provinces and were taxed. Significant associations and companies of tax collectors arose in Rome, which took over the collection of provincial taxes and contracts for various types of public works in Italy. They also engaged in loan and loan operations. This type of financial activity was more developed in the provinces, where selling into slavery for debts was still practiced, and the loan interest was not limited, reaching 48–50 percent.

Along with such organizations, money changers existed and were widespread in Rome. Their functions included exchanging money and currency, receiving and storing money, issuing loans at interest, and transferring money from account to account. That is, the money changers have already taken over banking operations. The office owners were called agents. However, this type of activity was not considered honorable in Rome, so proletarians and foreigners, including Greeks, mainly carried out this business.<sup>4</sup> The industry of the Roman Republic was also based on slave labor. It developed in a slightly slower way, as did agriculture. Various commercial and industrial enterprises have developed extraordinarily. The desire to acquire wealth and increase one's well-being has swept the entire nation. It was considered a good way to manage your finances carefully and increase your income. The unspoken rule was to share a small share of the fortune in many enterprises, but not to invest all the capital in one event. This was already the beginning of a capitalist approach to personal business. Rome became so rich that the wealth of the wealthiest Athenians was considered only average for the Romans. The incoming flow of the rural population to the cities pushed the development of industry: a large labor market was formed. Workers and artisans united in the colleges of cloth makers, dyers, builders, coppersmiths, jewelers, perfumers, and others. A specific craft specialization began to appear at the level of towns and cities. The largest craft centers were formed in the south of Italy in Capua and Nola, and in the north—the Etruscan cities of Populonia and Tarquinium.

It is necessary to single out urban planning to describe the Roman state's industry. The construction industry had two major areas: road construction and housing construction. As the tribunes and the Senate understood, road construction was the basis for the state's strategic development in several directions: military defense, military,

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<sup>4</sup> Kovalev, 1948a.

commercial, and technical. The presence of a good and extensive road network made it possible to increase the trade flow and deploy troops within the state as quickly as possible. Already at the beginning of Rome's heyday, the army could make the crossings from the city to the borders of the possessions in just a few hours. In 312 BC, construction began on the first strategic highway – the Appian Way – from Rome to Capua. It took more than a hundred years to build it. The Appian Way was the first in a whole network of roads, the total length of which reached 85 000 km. This network became the basis of modern roads and railways in Europe many centuries later<sup>43</sup>. Roman surveyors chose the shortest, smooth, and direct road construction route. They surveyed the area from various elevated points and made signal marks on them to identify it. After drawing up a terrain plan for the trajectory of the future highway, trees, and turf were removed, and a ditch that was up to 7–7 meters wide and about 1 meter deep was dug and filled with large stones<sup>44</sup>. They were fitted tightly to each other. The second layer consisted of small stones, often cemented by binders. The third layer was gravel. To prevent water or ice from stagnating on the road, the workers raised the middle part of the highway a little. Then, the stone slabs were stacked tightly together. A gutter was made along the edges of the road. Sometimes, instead of a trench, a dense earthen embankment was made on the site of the future road, on top of which stones were densely stacked. This type of road was called "agger". Its width reached 15 meters, and the height of the embankment was up to 1.5 m<sup>45</sup>. Such roads have existed for centuries without any visible transformations. Such a "layered pie" withstood long depreciation, although it must be borne in mind that there were no multi-ton vehicles at that time. Where the road ended in a stream of water or steep slopes, the Romans built bridges and viaducts. Some of them, for example, the bridge over the river in the city of Alcantara in Spain, is still functioning. The roads in the city were slightly different in structure. In most Roman wagons, the distance between the wheels was 143 cm. Therefore, two-wheel ruts were made on the streets at a given distance<sup>46</sup>.

<sup>43</sup> Sergeenko, 1964.

<sup>44</sup> Mommsen, 2001.

<sup>45</sup> Mommsen, 2001.

<sup>46</sup> Mommsen, 1894.



Urban construction, or urban planning, began to develop in time parallel to the road. However, during the early republic, the cities of the ancient Romans did not have any unique plan, unlike the ancient Greek polis, which were built according to a clear plan, with street intersections at right angles. The Greek urban planner Hippodamus first proposed a similar idea in 450 BC. The Romans adopted this layout by seizing Greek possessions in Southern Italy from 250 BC. They introduced elements of the original Roman city into the Greek plan: the forum, basilicas, amphitheaters, thermae, baths, water pipes, and sewage systems. Many large cities had two main streets, one from north to south and the other from east to west. Other streets also formed right angles of blocks or *insulae*. The *insulae* consisted of private dwellings – houses of the wealthy or entire dormitories for the poor. Gutters connected to the sewage system ran along the streets. Since the city was surrounded by a protective wall, which was being built once and for all, the city's territory was densely built up and grew by floors. Many taverns, thermopolies, and restaurants appeared among the high-rise buildings. The forum was a special place. It was an ample open space used as a marketplace. Most often, it was located at the intersection of main roads. A covered gallery surrounded the forum on three sides. It housed merchants' shops and administrative offices. On the fourth side stood the basilica, a large building built for court sessions and other public acts. A *cuna* (city hall) was located near the basilica, where the city council met<sup>4</sup>.

If early urban buildings were built using local stocks of wood and stone, then, in the heyday of Ancient Rome, construction and measuring tools and cement mortars were already used. Among the tools, thunder was often used to create vertical straight lines. In the 2nd century BC, the Romans mastered the technique of calcareous mortar from volcanic ash, learning how to build very strong walls. A gap was left between two layers of bricks at the base of the wall. It was filled with a mixture of cement and crushed stone. After this part of the wall dried, new rows of bricks and cement were laid on it. At first, the Romans used tuff and travertine from the Tibur quarries near Rome to build the walls. Later, builders began to use marble from the mountainous regions of Italy and Greece. The interior walls of many buildings were wooden frames filled with stones and

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<sup>4</sup> Kovalev, 1948a.

cement. They were covered with plaster from above. Tiles and bricks were made from clay by firing and shaping during manufacturing<sup>48</sup>.

The insula of poor people was divided into apartments and cenacles. The wealthy Romans lived in houses. So, in 350 A.D. in the inventory of urban planning in Rome there were 1790 houses and 46602 insulae<sup>49</sup>. The houses comprised an atrium, a guest reception room, a trichinum or dining room, a lararium, and a garden with a peristyle fence. The owner also had a tabletop office. Due to the warm climate, the houses had no windows but only window openings. However, there were fireplaces in almost every home. The same rooms that faced the street were often rented out for shops. The insulae had more than two floors but no more than five. Only some units had a bathroom, but there were no sewer pipes, so all the waste was thrown out onto the street. A good knowledge of geometry and mathematics became the basis for the sound construction of water utilities and sewage systems. Water was supplied to the baths and toilets through special aqueducts. Entering huge cisterns, the water was distributed throughout the city through an extensive lead and clay pipes system. The baths began to be built in the 2nd century BC and were simple rooms for men to wash. However, at the time of Emperor Augustus, Rome already had 170 private baths<sup>50</sup> and in 70 BC the first public baths were opened. In the era of the empire, the baths became massive structures, distinguished by luxurious interior decoration. They have become unique cultural centers. The largest of them even had libraries and reading rooms. By 284 AD, Rome had about a thousand private baths and 11 public ones. Among the most impressive buildings in Rome were the baths of the emperors Caracalla and Diocletian. Civil engineering peaked in the construction of temples, arches, and pantheons. The creation of the arch allowed the Romans to build bridges and aqueducts, and domes were the basis for the construction of temples and pantheons. The largest dome was erected in the pantheon of Emperor Augustus Agrippa in 25 BC. Its diameter reached 43 m. Naturally, the furniture industry's production volume increased with urban planning development. Beds and benches were made with a tight fit. Various chairs and armchairs

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<sup>48</sup> Mommsen, 1894

<sup>49</sup> Utchenko, 1951

<sup>50</sup> Tenney, 1949

such as sella, bisella, and puppis were made for the seat. Interior designers often worked with furniture makers, who decorated the walls of the rooms, covered the floors with mosaics, and arranged furniture.

The mining industry had a specific prevalence due to its geographical location. In addition to tuff, granite and marble, precious metals and iron were mined for construction. Iron was used in the arms industry to manufacture numerous types of weapons and protective elements. Mechanical engineering in ancient Rome had a specific character. It was not directly related to the light jewelry or other industries. It can be said that the partial or tangential ratio was expressed in the manufacture of many medical instruments. Levers and lifting units were used in the construction. Shipbuilding accounted for the leading share of mechanical engineering. Rome became a great maritime power and its shipbuilding is still famous. In the era of Ancient Rome, ships were built from wooden elements. Both fishing vessels and trading vessels were built. Some cargo ships reached a length of 30 meters and a width of 9 meters. They could reach speeds of up to 7 km per hour. Military vessels were built with a small ram at the rear stern.

Thus, Ancient Greece's economic system had a fully formed character. The constant evolution of the institution of government, colonization, and fusion with new cultures positively impacted the industry's development. It is worth noting that civilization has developed in many ways, affecting all spheres of public life.

### 3.5. Conclusion

Summarizing the results of Chapter 3, it is necessary to conclude that the Roman Empire became a crucial geographical unit in the history of mankind, having a significant impact on the development of civilization in the ancient period. Its unique location in the center of the Mediterranean Sea contributed to the establishment of Rome as a powerful economic, military, and cultural center. The natural conditions of the

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<sup>51</sup> Tennev, 1949

<sup>52</sup> Vasilev, 1973

<sup>53</sup> Vasilev, 1973

Apennine Peninsula, including fertile lands, a favorable climate and convenient communication routes, allowed the Romans to develop agriculture, handicraft production, and trade, which contributed to the growth of cities and ensured the sustainable development of the economy. The diversity of the peoples who inhabited the territory of the Roman Empire led to the formation of a complex and multi-layered society in which traditions of various cultures, religions, and ethnic groups coexisted.

Over time, the Roman Republic transformed into a mighty empire, expanding its possessions through conquests. The conquest of new lands brought wealth and resources and created social and administrative challenges. The influence of Greek culture, the unification of various peoples under a single rule, and the introduction of advanced achievements in the fields of construction, law, and public administration contributed to the strengthening of Rome. However, at the same time, the desire for expansion and the need to hold vast territories led to an increase in internal contradictions, an increase in the number of slaves, social stratification, and political instability.

The economic development of Ancient Rome covers a significant period up to the 3rd century AD, reflecting the evolution from primitive communal relations to a complex system of market economy. During this period, Rome's economy went through several key stages, including the agrarian stage, the development of trade and handicrafts, the growth of the slave system, and the gradual degradation caused by socio-economic and political crises.

At the initial stage, Rome was a small settlement, the economy of which was based on subsistence farming. The primary industries were agriculture and cattle breeding. The land belonged to the patrician families and was the primary source of wealth. An essential element of the economic organization was the existence of the *clientele* – a patronage system in which wealthy patricians supported dependent plebeians. In the 4th century BC, the territorial expansion of Rome began, accompanied by the seizure of new lands, which contributed to the emergence of large *latifundium*. However, the structure of farms remained primitive, and the primary labor force was free peasants.

Military successes and the expansion of territories led to an economic upswing. By the 3rd century BC, crafts were developing in Rome, monetary circulation was

emerging, and trade was expanding within the state and neighboring countries. Metal mining, ceramics, and textile production became particularly important. Trade links extended to the Mediterranean region, contributing to economic prosperity.

Colonies based in conquered territories played an essential role in economic development. They served as a source of cheap grain, slaves, and other resources. During this period, there was an increase in social differentiation: the peasantry went bankrupt, and slave labor replaced free producers.

By the 2nd century, slave labor was becoming the basis of the Roman economy. Large latifundium using slaves dominate agriculture, displacing free peasants. The slave-owning economy provided high productivity but, at the same time, created serious social problems, including constant slave uprisings (for example, the uprising of Spartacus in 73-71 BC). Cities were actively developing during this period, and extensive craft workshops and shopping centers appeared. The construction of roads and ports contributes to the expansion of the market, increased trade turnover, and closer integration of the empire's regions. Rome is becoming the largest consumer of goods, importing grain, oil, wine, and other products.

By the 3rd century AD, the economy of Ancient Rome was facing a deep crisis caused by several factors. The gradual depletion of conquered resources, the decline in the number of slaves due to the cessation of active conquests, inflation, and the crisis of monetary circulation led to the decline of trade and production. The naturalization of the economy is increasing as the monetary economy is losing its importance. At the same time, social stratification increases, the peasantry finds itself in a difficult situation, and the empire plunges into a series of internal conflicts and barbaric invasions. The government introduces strict regulation of prices and taxes, which only exacerbates the economic downturn.

The economy of Ancient Rome went through a difficult path of development from agrarian subsistence farming to a powerful slave-owning system with developed trade and handicrafts and then to gradual degradation under the influence of internal and external factors. The main patterns of development were territorial expansion, the use of slave labor, the growth of cities and trade, and then the crisis phenomena that led to the decline of the economy. These processes largely predetermined the fall of the

Western Roman Empire in the 5th century AD, becoming an important historical lesson about the consequences of unstable economic models.

The reasons for the decline of the Roman Empire lie in several key factors. Many historians point out that the excessive thirst for conquest led to an overstrain of resources and the inability to control vast territories effectively. Internal conflicts, corruption among the elite, the decline of discipline in the army, and the weakening of government institutions played a role in the crisis. In addition, the gradual disintegration of the upper strata of society, the intensification of social contradictions, the growing tax burden, and the crisis of traditional values have led to a decrease in the combat capability of the state. Eventually, the Roman Empire lost its former power, giving way to new forces that changed Europe's political and cultural map.

## Chapter 4

### Features of the Development of the Society of the Roman Empire in the Middle Ages

#### 4.1 Introduction

The chapter is devoted to analyzing the key processes that determined the transformation of ancient Roman society and its evolution within the framework of medieval Europe. The focus will be on the historical, ethnic, social, and economic changes that took place in the former Roman Empire from the fourth to the fourteenth centuries. This chapter will cover a wide range of issues, starting with the Great Migration of Peoples and ending with the peculiarities of the socio-economic structure of the feudal society of the late Middle Ages.

The first part of Chapter (4.1) focuses on the historical and ethnic features of the development of the former Roman Empire in the early Middle Ages. The most crucial factor of this period was the Great Migration of Peoples (4th–6th centuries), when barbarian tribes such as the Goths, Vandals, Franks, and Lombards actively invaded the territory of the Western Roman Empire, which led to its weakening and final fall in 476. In the following centuries, the expansion of the Germanic peoples continued, particularly the Lombards, whose dominance in Italy in the 6th–8th centuries had a significant impact on the ethnopolitical map of the region. The chapter goes on to examine barbarism in Europe during the era of the Ottoman Empire (9th–10th centuries) and the gradual transition to more stable political structures in the High Middle Ages (11th–14th centuries), when centralized monarchies and the strengthening of the feudal order replaced chaos and fragmentation.

The second part (4.2) is devoted to the social characteristics of society in the former Roman Empire. The medieval era was characterized by significant changes in the educational system, among which monastic education, developed based on the Christian tradition, played a key role (4.2.1). It has become an essential tool for transferring knowledge and training new generations of clergy and nobility. Special attention is also paid to the social structure of the Franks, which was one of the central

factors in the formation of medieval society (4.3.2). It examines the relationship between different social groups, the role of nobility and royalty, and the Carolingian dynasty's influence on the state's organization. The formation of feudal society (4.3.3) is considered in the context of the development of the vassalage system, the increasing dependence of the peasantry, and the formation of a new social order that dominated Europe until Modern times.

The final part of chapter (4.4) is devoted to the economic aspects of the development of the Roman Empire and Italy in the Middle Ages. The most important factors here were the crisis of late antiquity, the decomposition of the ancient economy in the 3rd–6th centuries (4.4.1), and the subsequent formation of new economic structures based on subsistence farming. In the 8th–11th centuries (4.4.2), the Frankish system of economic organization based on the domanial economy and the politics of the Carolingians acquired special importance. In the 11th–14th centuries (4.4.3), a new stage of economic development occurred, associated with the growth of cities, the development of trade, the emergence of banking structures, and the strengthening of merchant guilds. These changes laid the foundation for the further development of the European economy and the transition to the Renaissance.

Thus, the chapter reveals a multidimensional picture of the evolution of society in the former Roman Empire, showing the complexity and diversity of the processes that shaped medieval Europe. Analyzing historical, social, and economic transformations, it is possible to better understand European civilization's development patterns and the prerequisites that determined the course of history in modern times.

## **4.2 Historical and Ethnic Characteristics of the Territory of the Roman Empire in the Early Middle Ages**

### ***4.2.1 The Period of the Great Migration of Peoples (4th–6th Centuries)***

In 410, the Goths, led by the leader Alaric I, captured the Roman Empire and Rome itself. He was supported by slaves and most of the imperial troops, which consisted of Germans. However, the Goths soon left the Apennine Peninsula. Their



hasty departure was due to the highly severe decline of agriculture in the area. Large centers have long existed at the expense of food supplied from other provinces. The conquerors moved to the southern part of Gaul where they founded their kingdom, dividing the space between their warriors. This marked the beginning of the Great Migration of Peoples era, which affected almost all areas of the late Roman Empire. The gradual cooling of the climate in the northern part of Europe has led to a reduction in the areas suitable for animal husbandry, in particular cattle breeding. Therefore, many tribes of Eastern Europe and Scandinavia moved to Central Europe. In the second half of the 5th century, the vast expanses of the Western Roman Empire were freed up, to which many Germanic tribes began to migrate.

For two centuries, the map of Europe has completely changed in terms of ethnicity and administrative division. The fertile valleys were divided into barbarian kingdoms. Their rulers were completely independent or subordinate only to Byzantium. The population of the barbarian peoples grew steadily. The demographic explosion was associated with several factors:

- (1) Obtaining new land for the expansion of farmland;
- (2) Warmer climate with mild winters and warm enough humid in summer;
- (3) The absence of a multi-stage supreme authority with many tax items<sup>54</sup>.

The cultural and linguistic interpenetration of barbarians and Romans became dominant in favor of the former, which led to the Romans' dissolution and assimilation. This led to the death of the Latin language and the Romanization of barbaric, rather harsh languages.

There were both positive and negative sides to this process of barbarization of the territory of the former Roman Empire. The emergence of new cultures and the beginning of the formation of new nations can be attributed to a joyous process. On the other hand, there was a sharp decline in European culture at the beginning of the millennium, which was based entirely on Latin culture. The Huns were particularly unstable in their habitat. At first, the empire resorted to the help of the Huns in the fight against the barbarians, but then it began to feel the power of their state, which very quickly became a significant political force. In 434, under the leadership of Attila, the

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<sup>54</sup> Poryaz, 2001.

Huns conquered vast lands in Eastern Europe. They founded their own empire on the territory of the former Roman region of Pannonia, present-day Hungary. However, already in 451, Attila's troops were defeated on the Catalaunian fields by the outstanding Roman commander Aetius. Attila died two years later, and his young empire's rapid decline began. Around the same time, other candidates for creating a separate state appeared on the Iberian Peninsula. These were the Vandals and the Sevs, who were forced to move south from their acquired lands due to the enormous influence of the Huns. The Vandals waged wars in North Africa in 428-438 and established their own state with Carthage as its capital. From there, they regularly attacked the lands of the Empire, and in 455, even after capturing Rome, they subjected it to complete devastation. In the middle of the sixth century, the Vandal state ceased to exist, having dissolved into the Byzantine Empire<sup>55</sup>.

In the middle of the 5th century, the Ostrogothic state, previously destroyed by the Huns, was also revived. The Ostrogoths did not assimilate into the territory of the Roman Empire but sought an alliance with Byzantium. In 488, the Ostrogothic king Theodoric the Great attacked Italy under Odoacer's rule. Using the non-interference of Byzantium, he conquered all of Italy and many German regions. Ravenna became the capital of the new Ostrogothic kingdom. Theodoric tried to restore the greatness of the Roman Empire. He restored all the state institutions of the Great Empire. There were two main political forces – the Gothic and Roman nobility, which were constantly in conflict with each other. With the death of Theodoric, the decline of the Ostrogothic state began. Internecine warfare escalated, and the institution of government began to disintegrate. In 534, the Byzantine Empire was able to send troops to Italy. The twenty-year war with the Goths ended with the devastation of the Apennines. However, Byzantium had to retreat within a few years before a new claimant to Roman lands. The German tribes of the "longbeards" who came there earlier became a new political force.

Thus, at the initial stage of the Dark Ages, there was a constant movement of the peoples of Eastern, Central, and Southern Europe, which led to a complete change in the political map of the territory of the former Great Roman Empire. These changes completely destabilized the situation in the state, sharply worsened the economic

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Udal'sova, 1999

situation inside the territory and led to complete ruin. Historians often refer to the 4th–6th centuries as the period of the Great Migration of peoples. These migrations led to the collapse of the economic system that had been established for centuries. However this process was natural and inevitable. The old civilization had to give way to younger and newly emerging states, many of which could not last more than a century. It was a time of the formation of new political and economic systems.

#### ***4.2.2 The Era of Lombard Expansion (6th–8th Centuries)***

It is impossible to understand the path of development of the Roman Empire without considering those periods of its existence when the guiding force on its territory was the newcomers. One of these was the Lombards, a branch of the German tribes. At the beginning of the 1st century, the Lombards lived on the left bank of the lower Elbe River. By the 5th century, their tribes had moved to Pannonia. In 568, shortly after the death of Emperor Justinian, the Lombards entered the Po River valley. They later gave rise to the name of the province of Lombardy. Many Lombards had visited Italy as mercenaries and were aware of those places, wealth and the Roman garrisons' weakness. In 586, led by King Alboin, they invaded Northern Italy. Their contingent numbered no more than 700,000 people, along with women, children, and the elderly. At first, they moved along the rivers of Northern Italy, bypassing large cities. Then, it was the turn of the cities: Milan, Spoleto, Benevento and others fell. King Alboin began the siege of Pavia, which offered stubborn resistance. The Lombards made Pavia their capital. They occupied the Po River valley and the inland mountainous areas with rich pastures, the duchies of Spoleto and Benevento, but did not reconquer the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian Seas coasts from the empire. Now, the overland route between Ravenna, where the emperor's viceroys were located, and Rome, where the pope's residence was located, was interrupted. Unlike the Goths and Burgundians, the Lombards were almost not Romanized, did not know Roman laws, and they still had strong family ties. Sources describe them as "a people even wilder than the rest of the wild Germans." Along with the Lombards, other tribes invaded Italy – the Saxons, Suevi, Gepids, Proto-Bulgarians, and Slavs<sup>56</sup>.

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<sup>56</sup> Poryaz, 2001

In the middle of the 7th century, the central part of Italy was under the rule of the Lombards. Byzantium had a tiny territory left.<sup>1</sup> However, the Lombards settled most densely in Northwestern Italy. The conquests of the Lombards led to the destruction of a significant part of the old slave-owning nobility. The Lombard historian of the 8th century, Paul, the Deacon, noted that the extermination and expulsion of noble Romans accompanied the conquest itself and the beginning of the rule of the Lombards. Under the second king of the Lombards, Clef, not only the nobility but also middle-class people suffered. An essential consequence of this conquest was the fragmentation of the large slave-owning latifundia in Northern and Central Italy. Having conquered a significant part of Italy, the Lombard leaders could not divide the power in any way. Each duke threatened his immediate neighbors. Finally, in the face of the looming threat of invasion from the north of the Franks, the Lombards elected Otari king, but five years later, he was poisoned. And yet, they gradually absorbed the rich culture of the defeated. Skilled artisans and educated officials appeared among the German barbarians. In the tomb of Otari, descendants discovered original products of Lombard craftsmen, including a tray where a chicken family pecks golden grains. Theodolinda, the widow of King Otari, married Agilulf, Duke of Turin, who was elected king of the Lombards. According to legend, by order of Theodolinda, the so-called "iron" crown of the Lombards was explicitly made for the coronation of Agilulf, consisting of 6 gold plates decorated with precious stones and mounted on an iron hoop made from another "nail of the Crucifixion," which later crowned all the kings of Italy up to the Napoleonic era. Theodolinda herself came from the Bavarian royal house and was a Christian who supported the Roman Church. This allowed the pope to establish contact with her and slowly convert the Lombards to his faith. In the meantime, the Lombards periodically besieged Rome and left only after receiving significant compensation. Pope Gregory, later called the Great, had difficulty reaching peace with them. However, the Lombard kings' main problem was the struggle for power with their own dukes. Only King Rotary, Theodolinda's son-in-law, managed to significantly limit the power of the dukes by the middle of the seventh century and introduce the first legislative acts in the kingdom, written in the image and likeness of the Roman ones. These laws provided

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<sup>1</sup> Udal'tsova, 1959.

virtually no rights for the Romans, and only the Lombards, who had long been entrenched in Italy, were declared the superior race.<sup>18</sup>

The political system of the Lombard Kingdom of the 7th and 8th centuries was characterized by the disappearance of tribal institutions and the emergence of an early feudal state. Having conquered the territory of Italy and destroyed the old municipal system of the Roman Empire, the Lombards had to organize state power to subjugate the local population and establish the rule of the military nobility over ordinary community members. The Lombards no longer had a general national assembly in Italy. There were only meetings where laws were promulgated. The king, elected by the nobility, had the highest military and judicial power, the right to mint coins. He established taxes and duties and had the right of a medium concerning all subjects. His power was secured by the fact that he was the largest owner in the country. Judicial fines, duties, and a portion of the estate favored the royal power. However, the peculiarity of the Lombard kingdom was to maintain the intense power of the dukes successive to the royal power. The dukes assembled a military militia, had their own squads, had judicial power, and received court fines. The kings tried to limit the power of the dukes, to appropriate the right to appoint them.

After the death of King Clef, the dukes, having gained a foothold in Italy, ruled independently for ten years from 574 to 584 and significantly strengthened their positions. The Dukes of Spoleto and Benevento behaved especially independently. However, the danger from the Franks and the Byzantines forced them to elect a king again. However, for the royal power to have financial support, they had to give the king half their lands. So, the royal lands began to wedge into the ducal possessions. To strengthen their positions, the kings appointed guests to their estates, who served as judicial and political temporary agents of the king and managers of the royal estates. There were constant disagreements between the dukes and the Hastalds.

Like the Frankish king, the Lombard king ruled with the help of his closest servants—the palace mayor, the head of the stables, and the dukes. The people played almost no role in the court decisions. At first, the army had the character of a general militia. Still, in the 8th century, due to the devastation of the population, all the free were

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<sup>18</sup> Porraz, 200.

divided into three groups based on property and, accordingly, were armed differently. The royal power of the Lombards reached its most significant power under Liutprand. He managed to subdue the dukes of Spoleto and Benevento, and capture Ravenna. However, to weaken the dukes, Liutprand widely distributed church lands to private individuals, further weakening the central government.<sup>59</sup>

Already in the 7th century the Lombards began to assimilate the local population's Latin language, customs, and clothes. The Italian nation was not only not destroyed by the "barbaric" conquerors, but managed to assimilate the Germanic elements. The conditions were different in the Byzantine provinces. The Exarchate of Ravenna, Pentapolis, or Pentapouls in the Ancona region, the Roman Ducate, Liguria, Apulia, Bruttia, and Naples remained under Byzantine rule until the middle of the seventh century. The Byzantine military administration, the exarch, and the civil administration, the tribunes, were characterized by extreme self-interest.<sup>60</sup> In the 6th-8th centuries, the Byzantine regions witnessed the slow evolution of large-scale Roman land ownership. The estate's land was still divided into two parts: the lord's land, cultivated by slaves and colonists, and peasant allotments. However, slavery began to soften. The slaves who were planted on the land began to merge with the colonists and tenants into one group of dependent peasantry. Unlike the Lombard regions, there was almost no free population and free, independent communities here in the sixth and seventh centuries. Foreign trade was developed with the general naturalization of agriculture in the Byzantine provinces. The ports of Southern Italy maintained trade relations with Sicily, the Aegean coast, and Constantinople.

The Lombard kings' struggle for the subjugation of all of Italy was unsuccessful, as they met with resistance from the papacy, which acted in alliance with the Frankish state. At the end of the 8th century, Charlemagne conquered the Lombard Kingdom and made it part of the Carolingian Empire. According to the Treaty of Verdun in 843, the territory of the former Lombard Kingdom was again allocated, but as a set of separate duchies and fiefdoms.

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<sup>59</sup> Poryaz, 2001.

<sup>60</sup> Borodina, 1981.

Thus, the Lombards thoroughly destroyed the remnants of the Roman Empire's rule on the peninsula. They minimized the assimilation of culture and the institution of state power, consolidating their order of government for two centuries based on the dukes' firm authority and the center's coordinating essence. Economic ties began to be built anew, and trade relations with other territories of Europe and Mediterranean territories changed depending on the political relations between the Lombards and their neighbors, Byzantium.

#### ***4.2.3 The Barbarization of Europe during the Ottonian Empire (9th–10th Centuries)***

The next stage in the development of Europe and the Roman Empire was the period of barbarian rule and the existence of the Ottonian Empire. Barbarian bands descended on Western Europe in the second half of the 9th–the first half of the 10th century. Vikings landed on the west coast. Central Europe, primarily Germany, was invaded from the East. The Hungarians, who roamed in the southern foothills of the Carps, moved to the Black Sea region at the beginning of the 9th century and, at the end of it, moved west and captured the Danube plain. From there, they raided Germany, reaching Italy and the eastern regions of France. The need to fight back against the enemy was particularly acute in Germany.<sup>6</sup> Germany's royal power possessed significant military and financial resources since its free population was preserved to a greater extent. However, the German kings had powerful opponents in the form of dukes. Charlemagne tried to abolish the duchies, but these areas, inhabited by descendants of various Swabians, Bavarians, and Saxons, remained. With the Carolingian Empire's collapse, the dukes' power increased. They elected the kings or approved their heirs, and with their consent, the Saxon dynasty ascended to the German throne. The second king of this dynasty, Otto the First (936–973), set about strengthening the state. He sought support from minor knights and church landowners who wanted to find protection from the dukes from the sovereign. The church became an essential pillar of Otto's power. This organization had an advantage: bishops had to observe a vow of celibacy and could not transfer their offices and possessions by

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<sup>6</sup> Baakun, 2000.

inherentance. According to established practice, the bishops were appointed by the king himself<sup>65</sup>.

Otto the First suppressed the rebellions of the dukes, dissatisfied with the strengthening of his power. He placed some of them in closer dependence on himself, removed others from power, and appointed members of his family or bishops in their place. The strengthening of the central government has produced tangible results. In 955, the Hungarians were defeated on the Lech River near Augsburg, and they did not resume their raids. Later, in 1000, the leader of the Hungarians, Gais, was baptized under the name Stefan and became the first king of Hungary. During the era of Otto I, German pressure increased on the Slavs, primarily the Polabians, who lived along the Elbe River. These peoples did not create a single state and fought with the Germans and among themselves. Since the time of Charlemagne, Germany has waged 176 wars with the Slavic peoples for 367 years. Wars had become especially active since the beginning of the 10th century, when the Germans captured the stronghold of the Slavs Branibor (since then, Brandenburg). The lands captured from the Slavs were transformed into the Brandenburg Mark, or border area, which later played a huge role in the history of Germany. Appointed by Otto the First, the first margrave of Brandenburg, Hero the Iron, invited 30 Slavic princes to a feast and ordered their deaths. The result was an uprising in the Slavic lands, and the Germans had to leave these territories, which they managed to conquer only in the 11th century finally.

Strengthening his power with the help of the bishops, Otto could not but interfere in the affairs of the popes of Rome, to whom these bishops were subordinate in ecclesiastical terms. Taking advantage of the strife among the Italian princes, Otto invaded the Apennine Peninsula and assumed the crown of Italy in 962. At that time, papal power in Rome was significantly weakened, and Italian magnates controlled it. This increased the discontent of the Roman population. The newly elected pope turned to Otto for help, and he entered Rome in 962<sup>66</sup>. The Pope placed the crown of the Roman emperors on the German king, and since then, the German royal and imperial crowns have become inseparable. The Roman Empire of the West was restored for the second

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<sup>65</sup> Balakin, 2000

<sup>66</sup> Balakin, 2000



time after 800. This newly formed state later became known as the "Holy Roman Empire." It differed not only from the ancient Roman Empire but also from the Carolingian state. In addition to Germany, Italy, and part of the kingdom of Lothair, it included the lands of the Polabian Slavs conquered by the Germans in the 10th century, that is, the Slavic peoples who lived along the Elbe River and the Czech Republic. The core of this empire were the Germanic peoples. Otto the First sought full power over the church and recognition of his title by the Byzantine emperors. He appointed popes and demanded obedience from them. He married his son, the future Emperor Otto II, to the Byzantine princess Theophano. The fruit of their marriage was Otto III (983–1002), who became emperor at the age of three. At the age of fourteen, in 994, he entered into the independent rule of Germany and the Empire. Under the influence of his mother, he intended to remake his state in a Byzantine, strictly centralized manner. Entrusting the management of the German lands to his aunt, he began to implement his projects.<sup>64</sup>

Everything done by Otto the Third took place around the year 1000. A thousand years after the birth of Christ, contemporaries, relying on obscure words of Scripture, believed that the End of the world would come in the year 1000. The confusion of minds affected many, and Otto the Third belonged to them. The young man seriously believed that he might be the last emperor. From his viewpoint, the end of the earth's history should have been restoring a truly Christian empire led by a great, genuinely Christian emperor. Until the time of Otto the Third, the emperors, his grandfather, father, and Charlemagne were German kings, and they appeared in Rome from time to time to confirm their dignity and restore order in the church. Otto the Third moved his residence to Rome, feeling like a genuine Roman emperor. He sealed his documents with a special seal with the inscription "Renewal of the Roman Empire," established a complex hierarchical system of court and state ranks, borrowed from Byzantium, and celebrated a triumph modeled on the ancient emperors. In building the Christian empire, he was assisted by his teacher Herbert of Aunliac, a man of low birth, one of the most educated people of the era, a philosopher, mathematician, musician, and astronomer. In 999, Otto

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<sup>64</sup> Poryaz, 2001.

elevated Gerbert of Aurillac to the papal throne under the name of Sylvester the Second<sup>63</sup>

The Romans could hardly stand the presence of Germans in the Eternal City and raised riots. Otto the Third reproached them for this. The Romans refused to accept the benefits, and Otto and Sylvester were forced to leave Rome. Otto died unexpectedly at the age of twenty-two during a campaign against Rome. His successor immediately withdrew troops from Italy. Another attempt to rebuild the Empire failed. It was the last attempt to recreate the Empire in its perfect form. Subsequent emperors did not forget about their claims to the role of the head of the Christian world to power over the Church and Italy. However, they justified these rights because the German kings were, at the same time, Roman emperors. Rome remained a dream, an idea, a political myth, but not the actual seat of the emperors, who made only coronation campaigns there.

Thus, the short-lived era of Ottonian rule brought only some changes to the state of the Roman Empire. The Holy Empire's creation did not change Italy's position, which remained only nominally the political center of Europe and the entire Mediterranean. In reality, the territory of the Apennine Peninsula continued to sink into the abyss of economic, social, and administrative crisis caused by the constant fragmentation of provinces into small duchies and city-polises.

#### ***4.2.4 The Period of the High Middle Ages (11th–14th Centuries)***

The Italian lands had no political independence throughout the Dark Ages. After the Roman Empire's collapse, the Apennine Peninsula's fertile lands became a tasty morsel for many conquerors. The Lombard Kingdom played a positive role in the history of Northern Italy. The unity of these regions was not disrupted even when the Franks destroyed the Lombards and annexed the Italian lands to their possessions. The Papal region, which was under the complete control of the Church, did not lose its cultural and economic ties with the rest of the Northern Italian regions. Relative political stability and integrity led to the revival of various crafts and agriculture in Northern Italy. Later, when Italy separated from the Frankish Empire, the cities of the northern and central regions provided it with an unprecedented cultural and economic rise, which brought

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<sup>63</sup> Balakin, 2000.

Italy in the 11th–14th centuries, during the High Middle Ages, to the first place in Western Europe.

At about the same time as the Lombard conquest in the north, southern Italy fell under the rule of Byzantium. In military and political terms, the southern Italian regions were much weaker than the northern ones—the Byzantine emperors had enough worries in the Middle East. They could not hold the lands on the Apennines. In the 9th century, Sicily (followed by a significant part of the peninsula's south) was conquered by the Arabs, and a century later, the Normans came there. The frequent change of dominant peoples could not but affect the cultural identity of the Southern Italian regions, but it also led to political instability and economic underdevelopment. At the beginning of the Early Middle Ages, Southern Italy was formed mainly as an agricultural region. The gap between North and South has become a massive chasm over time. Italy suffered much more from feudal fragmentation than all other European countries<sup>66</sup>.

After the Verdun partition secured the Italian possessions of the Franks to Lothair, the history of Italy as an independent European state began. However, Italy did not exist as a single state until the middle of the 19th century. The history of Italy in the Middle Ages, Renaissance, and Modern times is the history of the individual city-states and regions that either pursued independent policies or found themselves under the control of stronger neighbors. But by the tenth century, an ethnic community had already developed in Italy's territory, and in political and economic terms, Italy was developing like other monolithic countries of Western Europe<sup>67</sup>.

Allodial land ownership was passed to the Frankish Kingdom and was widespread in Italy. A feature of the Italian economy in the 9th–11th centuries was the development of commodity-money relations. The land became an object of purchase and sale. Local landowners and large feudal lords bought plots from bankrupt small owners. Many urban residents viewed the purchase of an arable plot as a highly profitable investment. Hired peasants in Italy worked mainly in the fields owned by the inhabitants of the cities. Due to this, in Italy, there was no complete land division between noble feudal lords in the provinces. Independent peasant farms, in one form or

<sup>66</sup> Haldin, 1962.

<sup>67</sup> Poryaz, 2001.

another played a more important role in Italian agriculture than in other countries. The rise of agriculture in the Italian lands was proceeding rapidly, creating a solid foundation for further economic growth throughout the country.

Another critical factor in the rapid economic development of Italy after 1000 was the preservation of many cities on the Apennine Peninsula, founded in the Roman era. Barbarian raids, epidemics that lasted for several decades, wars, and famine undermined the role of cities in society but did not destroy them. Therefore, during the period of economic recovery, Italy had an excellent base for developing handicraft industries. In the ancient era, Italian cities were primarily shopping centers; in the Middle Ages, their economic functions changed dramatically. Trade in the cities, of course, has not disappeared. However, the entire trading system of the Middle Ages was rebuilt anew, without reference to the antiquity trade and transport system. Antiquity traded "horizontally" on the geographical map, while the Middle Ages traded "vertically." Therefore, most of the transport routes had to be rebuilt. In the 9th century, Pavia, the royal residence, was the most important commercial and industrial center in Northern Italy. This city was located in a highly convenient location, in the basin of the Po River, the most critical Northern Italian trade artery. The most significant fairs in Western Europe were held in Pavia every year.<sup>44</sup> Numerous artisan corporations were established in all major Italian cities at the turn of the 19th century. These organizations, which aimed to protect free artisans from the authorities and large feudal lords, soon became workshops, self-governing bodies of the townspeople, who played a massive role in the political life of Italian cities in the 13th-14th centuries.

The cities of Northern Italy are famous for their weaving industries. In the tenth century, the best European fine cloth was produced in the cities of Lucca, Genoa, Milan, and Verona. Gradually, some semblance of specialization emerged among Italian cities. Milan was famous for weapons production, and Genoa, Verona, and other cities in northwestern Italy were famous for cloth. Seaside towns were actively involved in international trade. Genoa became the main trading port on the west coast, maintaining its position at sea for several centuries. The star of Venice was rising in the east at that time. Urban development has led to a rapid economic recovery in Italy. However,

<sup>44</sup> Gurevich & Khuritonovich, 1995.

economic growth in this case played a negative political role. Since the Italian regions did not have a single political center in the 9th–11th centuries, each city pursued its own policy, and a desperate struggle developed between the cities<sup>69</sup>. Both merchants and artisans worked primarily for buyers from other countries, and the domestic market in Italy simply did not exist for a long time. Economic disunity led to political disunity.

From a formal viewpoint, Italy was a kingdom. After the death of the last king of the Carolingian dynasty, representatives of many noble Italian families tried to ascend to the throne of Italy. After several years of wars between the pretenders, the German king Otto appeared in Italy. However, the German emperors, starting from the 11th century, were not interested in Italy as a territory of economic development. Consequently, political and economic life in Italy could resemble a motley diagram by the beginning of the High Middle Ages.<sup>70</sup> Italy's central and northern regions were more actively involved in pan-European politics than the South. The 11th and 13th centuries were the period of the emergence of national identity in Italy. The main problem on the way to the country's unification, which the best minds of Italy dreamed of, was the language. No other European country, whose language grew out of Latin, had such a large number of local dialects. Often, in two neighboring villages, people spoke two completely different dialects.

The secular literary tradition in Italy originated in Sicily, where there was a brilliant poetic school. Then, the center of literary creativity moved to Central Italy, Bologna, and later to Florence. A new literary movement was born there, called the "sweet new style." Dante Alighieri, the greatest Italian poet and creator of the classical literary Italian language, came out of the school of stylists. The Stylists wrote in the Florentine dialect, and this dialect formed the basis of the literary language. Dante, followed by Petrarch and Boccaccio, shaped Italian grammar in a practical way. They have not written a textbook that sets clear rules and regulations. They were developed in a practical way, and most of the writers and poets of Italy in the following centuries were equal to them. However, even a single literary language did not unite Italians into a single state. In the south, a kingdom lived its own life. Both Sicilies actually ruled

<sup>69</sup> Gurevich & Kharitonovich, 1995.

<sup>70</sup> Skrzhuskiy, 2000.

from France. In the center of the country, the region of Tuscany, the center of which was Florence, was first strengthening Lombardy, one of the regions of Northern Italy, was also economically and politically potent. The two central merchant republics of the Middle Ages, Venice and Genoa, were active in the east and west of the country.

### **4.3 Social Characteristics of Society in the Territory of the Roman Empire**

#### **4.3.1 Monastic Education as a New System and Form of Education**

Monasteries were the cultural centers of the Christian world in the Dark Ages. The monastic communities, as part of the Catholic Church, were quite wealthy by the standards of that time. They owned significant lands and plots, which they leased to local peasants. Only from the monks could people find medical care and some protection from barbarians and secular authorities. Scientists have also found refuge in monasteries. In large cities, the church authorities were represented by bishops but always aspired more to secular power than to establish Christianity. The monasteries performed the main work of spreading the Christian religion during the Dark Ages.

Cities have been familiar with the Christian faith since Roman times. In the third and fifth centuries, Christian communities existed in all major centers of the Western Roman Empire, especially from the moment when the decree of Emperor Constantine elevated Christianity to the rank of the official religion. Things were different in rural areas. The village, conservative by nature, had difficulty rejecting the usual pagan beliefs and deities who always helped the peasant in his labors. The barbarian raids from which they suffered, famine and general disorder awakened the most ancient superstitions at the beginning of the Dark Ages, against which the official Christian church was often powerless. At that time, monasteries and holy hermits, leading an independent lifestyle from the world, became a mainstay for rural residents, who made up the majority of the then population of Western Europe. Under the conditions of the completely arbitrary rule of the barbarian rulers, monasteries proved to be the only refuge of order.

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<sup>11</sup> Barkin, 1994

At a time when kings enjoyed absolute power in their lands and flouted the laws, the Christian religion proved to be the only law independent of royal arbitrariness. In the cities, the bishops sought to limit the arbitrariness of the secular authorities, entering into direct confrontation with the rulers. However, the king or his vassal often had a military force behind him that the bishop did not have. The history of the Dark Ages knows many examples of how kings and dukes brutally tortured recalcitrant church rulers, subjecting them to torture. A Frankish mayor domo gouged out the eyes of a bishop in his city, forced him to walk on broken glass for several days, and then executed him. Only monasteries maintained their relative independence from secular authorities. Monks who declared their rejection of worldly life did not pose a clear threat to the rulers, and therefore, they were often left alone. Many of those who entered the monastery in the Dark Ages did so only to survive.

Independence from the world meant the monks needed to produce everything they needed independently. The monastic economy developed under the protection of double walls, which protected the monastery's possessions and were erected by faith. Even during the barbarian invasions, the conquerors rarely dared to touch the monasteries, fearing to quarrel with an unknown god. This respectful attitude persisted later. Therefore, the monastery's outbuildings – a cattle yard, vegetable gardens, a stable, a blacksmith shop, and other workshops – were sometimes the only ones in the whole neighborhood. The monastery's spiritual authority was based on economic power. Monks in the Dark Ages created food supplies for a rainy day; they always had everything they needed to make and repair agricultural implements.<sup>7</sup> Mills, which spread to Europe only after the tenth century, also appeared for the first time in monasteries. However, even before the monastic farms had grown to the size of large feudal estates, the communities were engaged in charity work according to their sacred duty. Helping those in need was one of the top priorities in the charter of any monastic community. This assistance was expressed in distributing bread to the surrounding peasants during the famine, treating the sick, and organizing hospices. The monks

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<sup>7</sup> Kotelnukova, 1987.

<sup>8</sup> Porvaz, 200.

preached the Christian faith among the semi-pagan local population, but they preached by deeds.

Monasteries were the keepers of the nuggets of knowledge that survived the fire of the barbarian invasions and the formation of new kingdoms. Educated people whose scholarship was no longer needed could find shelter behind the monastery walls. Thanks to the monastery scribes, some of the handwritten writings from Roman times have been preserved. However, they were seriously taken up only towards the end of the Dark Ages, when Charlemagne ordered the collection of old books throughout the Frankish Empire and their rewriting.<sup>1</sup>

The monastic community in the Dark Ages was a model of a representative Christian society. Inside the monastery walls, all the monks were brothers to each other. There was no division into "clean" and "unclean" activities. Each brother was engaged in what he had a penchant for or what was defined to him as obedience. On the other hand, the cloistered monastic world was a scaled-down copy of Christian Europe, which deliberately limited contact with the outside world, making do in everyday life with the little that could be produced or grown on its own. The founders of the monastic communities sought to limit the contact of monks with lay people to protect the brothers from temptation. The entire Christian world tried to communicate as little as possible with "pagans," to draw less from other people's knowledge and culture.

Thus, monastic education was an integral part of the society of the emerging society of the Middle Ages. Forming their personal concepts of the public and attitudes towards the outside world, they became the progenitors of future social norms, which were gradually adopted in various areas of the Roman Empire with the spread of Christianity. Independence and tolerance towards learned representatives of society contributed to the transformation of monasteries into the leading philosophical and economic force of the Middle Ages.

#### ***4.3.2 Characteristics of the Social System of the Franks***

Unlike the Eastern part, the Western Roman Empire, which included numerous monasteries in its social system, was constantly under the rule of a people. The epochs

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<sup>1</sup> Vasilev, 1973



of the Lombards and Ottos absorbed the formation and aggrandizement of the Frankish tribes. Therefore, to clearly reflect the economic and social picture of the development of the Roman Empire and Italy, we need to consider the social system of the Franks, which left its distinct imprint on the formation of a new society.

During the Dark Ages, when the social structure of the Franks began to take the form of a stable centralized state, profound changes took place in the community. The emergence of allodial ownership, which we will discuss below, undermined the very idea of a traditional community. The once monolithic entity began to break up into independent allods, the owners of which cultivated their land and had all the rights to the harvested harvest. Nevertheless, the community did not give up its position. The allode was an arable land that became the property of an allodist. The community still had significant undivided and indivisible lands – pastures, forests, and meadows. All members of the community continued to use these lands on an equal basis.

The period of the formation of the Frankish state and the emergence of allodial land ownership included the most detailed chapters of the Frankish “truths” devoted to protecting communal property from appropriation by rich community members.<sup>75</sup>

So, allodial property has become the cause of property inequality among community members. The division between the genera has become much more noticeable than before. The ties between relatives of all circles were strengthened during this period. The opportunity to receive an inheritance after the death of a wealthy relative made them remember all their relatives and not let them forget themselves when dividing the inheritance. On the other hand, a prominent clan in the era of the Allods was going through the same internal processes as the community. Increasingly, allodists officially renounced any material and legal ties with their kind and began to live relying only on themselves.

From a legal viewpoint, leaving the family entailed both a lot of advantages and many disadvantages. On the one hand, an independent farmer was not required to participate in the payment of wages and taxes for other members of a large family. He did not share responsibility with his relatives in a blood feud. In court, he had the right to refuse to testify about one of his relatives. His allod was entirely his own. You can do

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<sup>75</sup> Vasukov, 1973.

anything with the land now – sell, lease, donate, and bequeath. On the other hand, such an outcast himself was deprived of the support of the family – which was no longer obliged to bear collective responsibility for him. An independent allodist paid all taxes and court fines for himself and his family. He was deprived of the right to receive a share from *Vira* for damage to the family. Relatives also decided on inheritance matters without his participation. According to the court documents of the Franks, such renunciations gradually became more frequent.<sup>6</sup>

Thus, the introduction of allodial ownership of land and the opportunity to leave the family contributed to the awakening of private initiative and the early development of agriculture. The departure from conservative communal methods eventually ensured the rise of the entire economy of medieval Europe at the beginning of the second millennium. The attempts of community members to keep their neighbors and relatives within the framework of laws that have been sanctified for centuries have manifested themselves not only in controlling the use of undivided lands by individual owners. In the 7th–9th centuries, when the allods were in their heyday, the neighboring community strictly regulated the resettlement of strangers to their lands through a meeting of all members. A community member or allodist who went broke in his community could try to re-start a business by moving to another community. However, the host community only allocated him a land allotment if all its members agreed to accept a new neighbor.

There was another way. One of the members of the community could invite a migrant to his place without asking the opinion of the neighbors. However, in this case the migrant lived in the house of the inviter, unable to build his home and, even more so, to obtain a land allotment. In fact, such resettlement should have been temporary since the displaced person had no social status within the community and, consequently, within the whole society. At the same time, the term “*vila*” appeared in the documents of the Frankish state. Medieval lawyers used it extensively. The “*vila*” was the name of the entire village community and the courtyard of the same family within this village. More often, the term “*vila*” refers to the entire community. Excerpts from the *Truth* showed that in the era of the Allods, the neighborhood community gradually receded into the past. “*Vila*” in the interpretation of the Frankish jurists means a kind of

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<sup>6</sup> Rutenburg, 1987.

education, similar in structure to the village as it was known in later centuries. It was an association of relatively independent single-family farms, still collectively responsible for paying state taxes and exercising self government in matters of the village's internal life. It was more convenient for royal or county tax collectors to deal with a community representative than with each master individually.

The entire Frankish society in the Dark Ages was clearly divided into three main groups—free Franks, slaves, dependent people, and *Litas*. Most often, insolvent debtors became creditors, who, as payment of a debt, fell into semi-servile dependence on the lender. It should be noted that the problem of personal freedom in the Early Middle Ages was generally highly acute. Frankish court documents took a particularly careful approach to the issues of separating the free from the dependent and delineating liberties and prohibitions for the *Litas*. Modern researchers have seen an ambiguous picture of these documents. The Frankish "Truth" allows us to consider the *Litas* both as slaves and partly unfree people.<sup>2</sup> In modern history, the Frankish *Litas* have been identified as a unique social group, intermediate in status between slaves and freemen. Compared to slaves, the *Litas* had broad social rights. *Lit* could appear in court both as a witness and as a plaintiff. Unlike a slave, whose testimony was considered valid only if it was obtained under torture, *lit* testified on an equal basis with free people. In addition, the *Litas* took part in military campaigns. As is well known, the right to hold a weapon belonged in the Middle Ages only to free people. Regardless of the relationship with the lender, *lit* had his own property, which he managed pretty independently. A free man, under whose command *lit* was, had no right to take away property as debt payment. However, compared to the free Franks, the *Litas* found themselves in a humiliated position. *Lit*, who was financially dependent on a free man, was personally dependent on him. In the texts of the Truth, a free person in such a situation was referred to by the Latin term *dominus*, "lord." The relations of the "master" with "his own" and "other people's" *Litas* were discussed separately. The master could set him free, equating *lit* with a slave. Speaking in court as a defendant, *lit* found himself in the same position as a slave. For example, if a *lit* killed a free man, he was given the same punishment as a

<sup>2</sup> Rotenburg, 1987.

<sup>3</sup> Gurevich & Khartanovich, 1995.

slave. The lord responsible for the murder was at the complete disposal of the murdered man's relatives, and they were free to dispose of his life and death. Free people guilty of murder were only fined. If a free woman married a lit, she was fined 30 souat. The comparatively mild penalties for marriage between Litas and free women indicate that Litas were not slaves in the complete sense of the word.<sup>39</sup>

Drawing analogies with the slave-owning society of ancient Rome, we can say that the Litas were closest to the ancient serfs who worked on the land, gave away a significant part of the harvest, and freely disposed of the rest. The very existence of the Lites as an intermediate group of Frankish society caused changes in the attitude of Frankish laws towards slaves. In the oldest texts of the German Truth and documents of the late epoch, up to the Carolingian period, slaves were undoubtedly opposed to free people. In fact, they were equated with property or livestock. The Frankish 'Truth' speaks about the sale and theft of slaves, about their transfer from one master to another.

Regarding property, the position of slaves also changed closer to the 9th century. The slaves already possessed some property, which they managed themselves without the intervention of their masters. Moreover, some laws of the time mentioned transactions between slaves and free people. Obviously, already in the Carolingian era, before the complete feudalization of the Frankish state, the main sign of a person's servile condition was considered not so much property as unconditional personal dependence on a free person. At that time, Frankish laws even recognized the possibility of one slave working for two masters. For example, if, by a court verdict, someone's slave had to work off damage caused not to his master, he did not pass into the plaintiff's possession, but only performed work for him.<sup>40</sup> Personal freedom or unfreedom of a person in Frankish society was closely linked to land ownership. By definition, a slave could not own any land. Even if the master allocated a piece of land to the slave for relatively free management, formally and in fact, such a slave still remained inside his master's farm. Only the field of his activity changed, but not the nature of his relationship with the landowner. If we continue the analogy with the Roman slave-owning economy, then Frankish slaves were close in their position to Roman domestic

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<sup>39</sup> Poryaz, 200.

<sup>40</sup> Vasilekov, 1973.

slaves: auxiliary labor. Frankish law provided for the release of a slave into freedom. At the same time, the gentleman was obliged to perform a symbolic ceremony, "denarius," in front of the king. This was the only way for a slave to gain absolute freedom. In all other cases, the slave remained the master's property or remained dependent. Frankish laws provided for several ways to release a slave partially, but did not elaborate on them in detail. Perhaps it was mainly a formal statement from the host that was needed. Interestingly, the slave's release through the denarius was not retroactive. A free man whose slave was set free by someone else had the right only to demand payment of a fine, but not the return of the slave<sup>8</sup>.

Adod buried the communal system of the Germans. With the advent of allodial ownership of land, extensive clans, the basis of a traditional neighborhood community, began to disintegrate. Frankish society began to move towards a new, more progressive, and productive social order. They gave a new impetus to agriculture and provided food to the whole of Western Europe at the turn of the 1st and 2nd millennia AD<sup>9</sup>. Already in the 8th century, Allodists used their land as fully fledged property. Plots could be freely sold and bought, bequeathed by inheritance. The peasants' ownership of land contributed to the development of initiatives, the emergence of new methods of land cultivation, and the introduction of new crops, such as legumes, into the economy. If the allodist was a successful host, he was doing well. However, very often, the allodist, being unable to manage the farm effectively, was forced to sell the allod for debts. Gradually, most of the allods passed into the hands of a small number of wealthy community members. The inequality between community members created by the introduction of allodial ownership has deepened even further. Poor and bankrupt community members went to work on the lands of rich neighbors. In the Frankish 'Truth' already in the 8th century, there was a repeated reference to the "poor" from among the inhabitants of the communities. The category of "poor" often included community members who kept a small allode and livestock and those who went into debt to serve rich neighbors.

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<sup>8</sup> Vasilkov, 1973

<sup>9</sup> Luzzatto, 1967

Maternal dependence was inevitably to be followed by personal dependence, the enslavement of the poor. However, this did not happen for a very long time. The laws of the Frankish state severely limited the possibility of taking cattle belonging to a free person as collateral. The issuance of collateral was practiced both during a trade transaction and during a trial as a guarantee of satisfaction of the plaintiff's claims. But if the collateral was land or livestock, the duke had to permit the collateral transaction. The enslavement of one free community member by another was directly prohibited in Frankish law. Such prohibitions applied only to community members who had something to take as collateral, land and livestock. For someone who was utterly broke, the law allowed them to take everything they could provide as collateral. However, the enslavement of some community members by others in the Frankish state was much slower than the stratification of property. The more actively the free Franks, who had once been equal members of their communities, were divided into rich and poor, the more this inequality was emphasized by the laws. In the most ancient texts of the barbarian Truth, punishments for free and slaves and crimes committed against both were distinguished<sup>8</sup>. Closer to the 9th-10th centuries, a new formulation appeared in the laws. Fines were paid depending on the "quality," that is, the social status of the victim and the perpetrator. At the same time, free people began to be divided into "people" and "small people." The "small people" included poor community members, who, for example, were practically absolved of responsibility for participating in the rebellion against the royal duke. The brunt of the fines and punishments fell on the instigators of the rebellion and their closest accomplices. "Small people" – peasants who depended on wealthier neighbors and were forced to follow them – were also fined, but incomparably less. On the other hand, the higher the social status of the victim, the greater the fine imposed on the perpetrator<sup>9</sup>.

The "little people" still belonged to the free despite their limited judicial responsibility. But the line separating the free from the unfree was now thinner for the "small people" than for the wealthy. An example of this is the legislation in the field of marriage. Frankish laws forbade incestuous marriage. If a wealthy person violated this

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<sup>8</sup> Porvaz, 2001.

<sup>9</sup> Vasilkov, 1973.

law he was deprived of all property not personal freedom. The poor man, the "little man," became a state slave. The further stratification of the free Franks into rich and poor led to the fact that many poor people fell into virtual bondage not only as a result of the sale of land and other property. If a poor man was awarded a fine and could not pay it for the rest of his life the debt was passed on to his descendants until it was paid. The poor were forced to enter the service of the victim, which also led to actual enslavement.

When Charles Martell introduced the beneficiary system for his warriors, it undermined the position of the Allods. The system of feudal land ownership that soon developed utterly put an end to the existence of free community members. By the 11th century the enslavement of peasants had received state support royal decrees obligated all agricultural communities to ask for protection and patronage from the local feudal lord. Nobles, vassals, and serfs of feudal society replaced Frankish freemen, leagues, and slaves<sup>45</sup>

*In conclusion,* it is necessary to note that the "little people" still belonged to the free despite their limited judicial responsibility. But the line separating the free from the unfree was now thinner for the "small people" than for the wealthy. An example of this is the legislation in the field of marriage. Frankish laws forbade incestuous marriage. If a wealthy person violated this law he was deprived of all property not personal freedom. The poor man, the "little man," became a state slave. The further stratification of the free Franks into rich and poor led to the fact that many poor people fell into virtual bondage not only as a result of the sale of land and other property. If a poor man was awarded a fine and could not pay it for the rest of his life the debt passed on to his descendants until the amount was paid. The poor were forced to enter the service of the victim, which also led to actual enslavement.

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Thus, the social system of the Franks, which was formed even before the development of the Lombard and survived the Ottomans, created the capital foundation, or basis, for the emergence of feudal society and feudal forms of economic management.

#### *4.3.3 The Structure of Feudal Society at the Stage of Its Formation (10th–13th Centuries)*

The feudal state was a society with a clearly defined vertical hierarchy. This hierarchy was very specific. It was based on vassal-seignorial relations, a special type of social relations characteristic of the Middle Ages. The vassal-seignorial hierarchical chain in its classical form consisted of only two people. The seigneur, a wealthy landowner, gave one of his subjects a land allotment for life; he demanded faithful service and personal devotion. A subject vassal took an oath of allegiance to the lord when receiving this allotment, which was called differently in different countries. In Germany, it was a *fief*, a *fief*, or a *benefice*; in France, it was a *fief*. This landed estate with everything within its borders was considered the property of the seigneur. The vassal could neither sell the fief nor pass it on by inheritance. Upon the death of the vassal or lord, land ownership passed back to the lord's family. However, all the income that this land brought belonged to the vassal. He only paid the seigneur a fixed rent or gave away some of the harvest. The transfer of the fief itself was decorated with great pomp. A special ceremony accompanied the oath of allegiance. According to this oath, the vassal was obliged throughout the entire term of his service to protect the lord's possessions, take part in his council, pay the required amount for the use of the fief, and provide any assistance that the lord requested. The lord, for his part, also remained loyal to the vassal, pledged to protect him, protect him, and not cause offense and damage. The lord could take away the fief from the vassal for non-fulfilment of vassal obligations. However, even a vassal, if the lord violated the oath, had every right to defend himself with weapons in his hands, and also to leave the lord, retaining the fief. A special council resolved disputes between the lord and the vassal – the *fief curia*, which included all the vassals of this lord. The *Fief Curia* had broad powers, including



udicial ones. As the lords' power weakened, and the vassals, on the contrary, gained more and more independence, the feudal curia turned into an organ that allowed the vassals to control the lord and limit his rights<sup>36</sup>.

A fief was a salary awarded for military service. Compulsory service took the vassal from one and a half to two months a year. Still, in the event of hostilities, he was obliged to appear at the lord's court in full armor and on horseback and bring with him a detachment of trained and armed warriors. For the first time, the distribution of lands to royal soldiers as security for their service was carried out by the Frankish kings of the Carolingian dynasty, who introduced benefits into wide use. At first, the benefits were a temporary gift that did not detract from the wealth of the king, who was the only one in the entire state with the right to give benefits. But over time, everything changed. Principal royal vassals sought to consolidate their fiefs on hereditary property rights, and, as a rule, they succeeded. Some kings were forced to assign fiefs to their vassals as hereditary possessions, while others had to take away most of the land by force of arms from their vassals who had become too powerful.

As the new European kingdoms strengthened, the highest royal vassals, who possessed vast lands, were given the right to distribute parts of their fiefs on the same terms they were given to them. There was no talk of selling the land holdings, as the land remained formally royal. However, the right of feudal lords to distribute lands has incredibly complicated the entire structure of society. A royal vassal giving one of his subjects a land allotment in feudal ownership, himself became a lord. His vassals swore allegiance only to him and in no way obeyed the king. The king could not command the subjects of his vassals since in this case, his vassal could stand up for his vassal, fulfilling the oath of the liege lord. The relationship between lords and vassals was even more confusing because a vassal could swear allegiance not to one master, but to several even in different countries.

In general, the structure of the seigniorial vassalage consisted of four levels. The head of state was the King. It was believed that he owned all the land in the kingdom, from which he distributed fiefs to his subjects. Along with the fiefs, the king also owned his own land – the royal domain, the income from which formed the basis of his wealth.

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<sup>36</sup> Kotelnikova, 1987.

The King had supreme authority in military and judicial matters throughout the state. Here, his word or the word of his representatives was decisive regardless of whose land, for example, the royal court was being held. The king was not a vassal of anyone in his state, but he often took an oath of vassalage to another king or emperor, and sometimes to the Pope. One step lower in the hierarchy were the king's vassals, the dukes and counts, who owned vast areas. Within their fiefs, the counts and dukes had full power. They collected taxes and taxes, conducted court proceedings, minted coins, and organized an army. The ecclesiastical rulers of duchies, principalities, and regions—archbishops and bishops—were also equated with the highest secular nobility. In those countries where the right to appoint bishops belonged to the king, they were entirely subordinate to him.<sup>17</sup> In places where the church had more independence, the king only confirmed the appointment of a bishop. The spiritual investiture, that is, the inauguration of the bishop, was performed by the pope, handing over staff and a ring, symbols of power. Only after that, the king conducted the secular investiture of the bishop, handing him a handful of earth and a branch of a tree.

Princes, counts, and dukes had the right to transfer part of the lands as fiefs to their subjects. These vassals of the vassals, barons received quite significant fiefs, within which they established their own orders. The baron, in turn, distributed part of the lands to the knights, the lowest category of feudal landowners. Since the beginning of the 11th century, almost all noble people in medieval Europe were called "knights." The Latin term sometimes replaced the title "noble man" inherited by the Middle Ages from the Roman era. It meant a person of noble origin who had received the necessary military training, had his own weapons, and had been knighted.<sup>18</sup> All knighthood was divided into castelans, castle owners, and simple knights. The castelans had unlimited power in their fiefs, including the right to mint their coins. The only constraint on the vassal's will could be his liege lord, but as the fiefs became hereditary possessions, the liege lord's power over the vassal weakened. As for the minor knights, many of whom, in addition to the fief, also had their own allode, their position on the lowest rung of the hierarchical ladder was determined not only by poverty but also by purely social reasons.

<sup>17</sup> Ambrosio, 1968.

<sup>18</sup> Gurevich & Khartanovich, 1995.

During the transfer of the fief, the land passed from the canopyora to the vassal with everything that was on it, including the peasants "attached" to this land. Thus, the knight did not have the right but the opportunity to acquire his own vassals. Among his subjects were only serfs, villains, and serfs, who had nothing in common with the nobility. Due to their lowly origin, the peasants could not expect to receive their own fief. As the distinction between villains and serfs faded, and both categories of peasants became serfs, they began to be referred to simply as "inhabitants."<sup>69</sup>

In its classical form, feudalism did not last long as a society with a clearly defined hierarchy and social relations based on personal loyalty to a vassal lord. Feudal society constantly tended to become more and more fragmented. Often, vassals swore an oath of allegiance to many lords at the same time, and the most influential of the lords could demand from such a vassal an oath of the most significant loyalty – close homage. This was the first step towards forming a monarchical system, which replaced the feudal system by the end of the Middle Ages in almost all of Europe.

The practice of transferring a fief into hereditary ownership also destroyed the very foundation of feudal loyalty. The vassal became virtually beyond the lord's control, who lost his main leverage. This was especially evident in the relationship between kings and their vassals, the dukes and princes. Rich vassals, who often had much more land than their liege lord, gradually isolated themselves, creating a kind of "state within a state." Such fragmentation only weakened the country, and therefore, almost immediately after the final formation of the feudal social system, a tendency towards a new unification based on monarchical rule arose in its depths.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Vasilev, 1973.

<sup>70</sup> Kotebnikova, 1987.

immediately after the final formation of the feudal social system, a tendency towards a new unification based on monarchical rule arose in its depths.

The Middle Ages was a landmark of classification. In the High Middle Ages, the passion to determine every phenomenon's place in God's world peaked. Still, even before that, already in the Carolingian era, when feudal society was just taking shape, people sought to streamline the world around them. Theologians drew up descriptions of the heavenly hierarchy, at the head of which was God, and below that were various categories of angels. The people themselves did not escape a similar fate. All kinds of textbooks, manuals, and grammars of medieval teachers have brought to our day a wide variety of descriptions of modern society. What these descriptions have in common is the desire to decompose everything. It is necessary to look at precisely what signs a medieval man used to determine his place in the world.

Humanity was divided into Christians and pagans. This is the leading dividing line Western European civilization strictly followed since Christianity became the only religion. The man of the Middle Ages felt this division especially acutely. On the one hand, pagans who did not honor the law of Christ were doomed to the torments of hell. So pagans could be treated like animals, and killing them was not only not considered a sin, but was sometimes openly encouraged. On the other hand, every Christian was obliged to follow the precepts of the Lord and bring the light of true faith to the pagans. Some became missionaries and preached Christianity by the word. Others, most of them, relied on sword and fire. Christians were also divided into Catholics, or "right" Christians, and "Greeks," whose faith, in the eyes of Western European civilization, was not far removed from paganism. The terrible defeat inflicted by the Crusaders in Constantinople in 1204 was an explicit confirmation. Within itself, the world of the Christian West also did not stop dividing. The first boundary separated the secular from the spiritual. The clergy included the entire priesthood, monasticism, and the church nobility, from the bishops who ruled the flock in cities to the Roman Curia, the top of the church organization<sup>91</sup>.

In the secular society of medieval Europe, there were three main classes: the nobility, the free, and the serfs. Belonging to a particular estate was determined

<sup>91</sup> Koteinikova, 1987.

primarily by the origin of a person, and the estate's inheritance went in different ways in different cases. If a nobleman could be considered someone whose father belonged to the nobility, then his mother's estate determined a person's position in the other two estates. The transition to the noble estate was possible, as we can see, almost exclusively for women if they married noblemen.

The nobility as a class was not united. Just as there were different rules for the trial of a noble and a commoner, nobles were judged differently depending on their origin. First of all, medieval legislation distinguished the category of non-hereditary nobles by their mother, or, as such, nobles were called in the texts, "noble-hearted." A noble on his mother's side had somewhat more rights than a commoner, but these rights were quite fragile. If, for example, he bought servile land, he could quickly become a servile himself. In addition, an unrelated noble could not become a knight by himself by nobility alone. To raise him to the knighthood, the king required special permission. This was a title that every noble had to earn personally. Only towards the end of the Middle Ages did knighthood become as hereditary as other noble titles. Among the hereditary nobles, titles were inherited: Counts, dukes, barons, marquises, and viscounts, who made up the upper stratum of the nobility, enjoyed profound political privileges and were opposed on this basis to minor nobles<sup>81</sup>. This category of nobility had many rights in terms of administrative and domestic political activities. A high-ranking castellan could freely use any castle on his fief's lands and impose a ban on private internecine wars by his vassals. However, the separation did not bypass the Castellans either. Depending on their more or less noble origin, slightly different judicial norms were applied to them.

The family ties that medieval society inherited from the barbarian era have not lost their power in the nobility. They have acquired a strict hierarchical order. The closest relatives gained priority, followed by relatives up to the fourth generation, then the sixth generation, and so on. Those who were related before the sixth generation were considered relatively closely related. Compared to distant relatives, relatives up to the sixth generation had many rights and responsibilities towards each other. First of all, these rights were related to the inheritance of land, the principal value of the Middle

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<sup>81</sup> Vasilkov, 1973.

Ages. According to the legislation, which is uniform in this matter almost everywhere in Western Europe, close relatives had the right to be the first to buy land from a relative. For relatives to exercise this right in practice, they were given a period of one year and one day to buy back the land they needed at the same price for which it would have been sold to an outsider. It was the same with inheritance. Family ties were often very complicated, and a person had to constantly keep in touch with all his relatives so that he would not be forgotten in the event of a division of inheritance or land. Family ties gave certain privileges and imposed many essential duties on family members. So, all relatives up to the fourth generation were obliged to defend a relative with weapons in their hands. According to medieval law, any of them had every right to declare war on the offenders of a kinsman.

The main principle by which the nobility was divided in the Middle Ages was the vassal-seignorial vertical. A person's societal position was determined primarily by his relationship with the lord. A close vassal who had sworn an oath of close homage was in a more privileged position than a simple vassal. However, a close vassal had more responsibilities towards the liege lord. Within their "category," the vassals were equal to each other; that is, formally, none of the close vassals received more favors from the lord than others. On the other hand, the duke's direct vassal and baron's vassal held different social positions. It was important not only who a person was concerning your master but also who his master was. The hierarchical vertical was just as pronounced among the church nobility. However, the spiritual nobility was characterized by a more rigid organization and subordination "from the bottom up." strength and internal discipline distinguished the Catholic.

In addition to kinship and purely hierarchical relations, the position of a nobleman in society also depended on his property status. At the bottom of the hierarchy were landless nobles who had lost their fief or younger sons from large families who had no hope of a paternal inheritance. All the rights of the nobility were reserved for them, but their lot remained the service of a mercenary and constant wandering in search of a better life. These people could not always afford good weapons, much less a horse. Knighthood was a stroke of luck for a landless nobleman who failed to marry the heiress of a rich fief. Squads of landless mercenary knights traveled all over the lands of the

medieval West in search of a living. Those of the landless nobles who failed to become even a knight gradually descended the social ladder and became artisans or farmers.

In the Middle Ages, two categories of small landowners stood apart in the "noble" society: allods nobles and non-nobles who acquired fiefs. By the 12th century, not many Allodist nobles were left in the West. The Allodists were a relic of the system of independent castellanates, an era of the most significant feudal fragmentation. The allods nobles were in no way related to each other, and the lawyers of the Middle Ages singled them out mainly as opposed to the leading group—the lords and vassals. As for non-nobles who managed to acquire a fief, medieval lawyers approached this issue very carefully. In theory, a nobleman could not sell his fief to a non-noble. However, such deals were not uncommon. It was not just wealthy townspeople or well-to-do peasants who bought land. There were cases when the fief fell into the hands of a person of a completely "vile" class: a villain or a serf. In the 13th century, land sales to non-nobility acquired a truly grand scale. The King of France was even forced to issue a unique document limiting the possibility of transactions with fiefs<sup>93</sup>.

Since the 13th century, seigniorial-vassal relations have undergone a significant change in conditions when the lands of the feudal lords actually became the object of purchase and sale. Still, the idea of vassal service was blurred. The beginning of the High Middle Ages in the most economically developed lands of Western Europe, primarily in Italy, was marked by a shift in emphasis from military service to economic relations. Many lords no longer demanded military service from the holders of fiefs but collected obligatory monetary tribute from them. In some places, money has replaced all the vassal duties of earlier times. The vassal-seigniorial relationship increasingly resembled a simple transaction<sup>94</sup>.

Serfdom from the feudal landowner belonged to the peasants. In their position, they were below the townspeople: personally free people, much less dependent on the lord. But there were laws for the peasantry, too. In France and Northern Italy, where feudal society was represented in the classical version, serfs were divided into two groups: villains and serfs. The serfs had much less rights than the villains. For example,

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<sup>93</sup> Luzzatto, 1967.

<sup>94</sup> Vasilkov, 1973.

unlike the vilians, for whom this right was recognized, they could not leave the cultivated land. Therefore, in the Early Middle Ages, litigation was not uncommon between a peasant who refused to recognize himself as a servile and a seigneur who proved his servile status. The property situation was more manageable for the vilians than the servos. They could fully manage their household and share all expenses and income. They had a little more personal freedom, although they performed corvée and other duties concerning the lord to the same extent. The inheritance of the vilian farm was divided equally among all relatives<sup>9</sup>. This approach often provided the peasants with some advantage over the nobles. Since the inheritance could not be divided among the nobility, this led to the impoverishment of the younger sons of the owner of the fief. All lands passed to only one heir, without the right of redistribution. The fragmentation of peasant farms played a positive role, giving additional opportunities to all family members.

As for the peasant's status itself, it was inherited. However, if the nobility's position was determined by their father, then their mother determined the peasants' position. In their midst, peasants often united into some kind of public organization, in church parishes. The unification here was based on a purely geographical basis. A parish, the minimum unit of a church organization, sometimes encompassed several villages of the same district. The parish community was not so much a religious as an economic entity. Under priests' guidance, parishioners were engaged in work that neighboring communities had once performed: deforestation for new arable land, construction of roads and churches, hunting for predators, and robber raids. The parish community, if necessary, undertook to organize the protection of its villages from the military threat and defended the interests of its members in court. A strong community could well resist the lord in property lawsuits, especially since the church stood behind the parishioners, and it was unsafe for the feudal lords to quarrel with it.

*In conclusion*, it is necessary to note that feudal society at the stage of its formation in the 10th-13th centuries was characterized by a complex hierarchical structure based on a system of vassal-seigniorial relations. The basis of society was the relationship between lords and vassals, based on mutual obligations. The vassal lord

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<sup>9</sup> Koteinikov, 1987



provided the vassal with a land allotment (fief) in exchange for military service and loyalty, and the vassal undertook to protect the interests of the liege lord and carry out his orders.

The king held the supreme power in feudal society and formally owned all the land in the state. However, he transferred large possessions to dukes and counts, who in turn could divide their lands among their subordinate vassals. Thus, the feudal ladder included several levels, where power was distributed among many feudal lords, and the king often had no direct control over the subjects of his vassals.

One of the key features of feudal society was its class structure. The society was divided into three main groups: the clergy, the nobility, and the peasantry. The clergy had considerable influence, as the church controlled religious life and had significant land holdings. The nobility included dukes, counts, barons, and knights, while the peasantry in turn was subdivided into free vassals and dependent serfs.

Over time, the vassals sought to consolidate their lands into hereditary possessions, which weakened the lords' control and led to political fragmentation. The appearance of several lords under one vassal further complicated the system of vassal-seignorial relations since vassals could obey several lords at the same time, leading to conflicts and instability.

As a result, feudal society was a dynamic system that gradually evolved. The fragmentation of the feudal domains weakened the central government, leading to the need to strengthen royal power and form centralized monarchies. This process was accompanied by struggles between kings and powerful vassals, which ultimately contributed to the gradual transition to the nation-states in the late Middle Ages.

#### **4.4 Economic Characteristics of the Roman Empire and Italy**

##### ***4.4.1 The Economic Situation in the Era of the Dark Ages (3rd–6th Centuries)***

The widespread use of slave labor characterized the economy of the Roman Empire in recent centuries. Both prisoners of war and insolvent debtors were enslaved. As barbarian tribes began to infiltrate the Empire, settling on Roman lands based on the

mores of the Federate allies. Roman slave owners gained an additional source of slave labor. The most difficult conditions in which the barbarian settlers often found themselves forced them to sell themselves and their children into slavery. The increase in the number of slaves in Roman farms gradually led to an incredible increase in social tension. Therefore, when new barbarian tribes invaded the Empire in arms at the end of the fourth century, thousands of slaves joined the conqueror's armies<sup>96</sup>.

At the same time, the colonist was promoted to first place in agriculture, and the colonists increasingly approached slaves in their position. Being formally free, a Colon could not leave the land on which he worked and actually belonged to the land plot owner. And yet, the Colonians were not slaves in the complete sense of the word. The owner could only sell them along with the land they cultivated. The Colon's tools were also their property. Unlike slaves, colonists paid taxes to the state and could be conscripted into military service. The opposite trend has also intensified. Many slaveholders allocated plots of land to their slaves, and such slaves, or "planted" ones, received much more significant economic freedom than others<sup>97</sup>. While working on their land, the slave paid the master a stipulated portion of the harvest and disposed of the rest at his discretion.

The actual enslavement of the colonies went hand in hand with the liberation of the slaves. New forms of land use have also appeared – precariums and emphyteusis. The farmer who took the precarious lease paid the owner a stipulated fee and managed the harvested crop entirely. The terms of the precarium were determined by the landowner, but rather quickly, the precariums became long-term, and their holders approached the colonists in position while remaining much more independent of the landowner. Emphyteusis represented a much more progressive form of land lease. The tenant, the tenant of the site, paid annual dues to the owner, receiving broad rights to the land. He could sell it, pass it on by inheritance, and rent it out. The owner had the right to take away the land only if the tenant had not paid him for three years or if he

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<sup>96</sup> Vasilkov, 1973.

<sup>97</sup> Luzzato, 1964.

died without leaving heirs<sup>98</sup>. In some cases, the period of emphiteusis was stipulated in advance, and after its expiration, the land was returned to the owner.

The economic and social changes that took place in the Roman Empire in the last centuries of its existence marked the subsequent path of development of a barbaric society in which the patriarchal communal system was replaced by the feudal one by the tenth century. The barbarian peoples who encountered Roman culture in the 3rd-5th centuries were at the communal level of society development. Familiarity with a more complex system of social relations, which represented the ancient world, contributed to their transition to a new stage of social development. On the other hand, in the Roman world, which entered an era of decline, the disintegration of the slave system accelerated under the influence of the barbarians.

The situation with land farms in the era of the Great Migration was as follows. The barbarians, seizing Roman provinces, redistributed lands, taking away a significant part of the land from the rich Roman Latifundists. Large latifundia and estates at first practically lost their importance, their place was taken by small front farms owned by farmers-owners. The free farmer, formerly a barbarian cattle breeder and now a sedentary peasant, has become the central figure in the economic life of Europe. However, land redistribution did not occur according to universal equality principles. The tribal nobility of the Germanic tribes, the leaders of the squads, and their entourage took much larger allotments for themselves. The land that the leader gave to the noble warriors became their hereditary property. Gradually, ordinary community members became dependent on the nobility for land. Remaining personally free, possessing their own tools, they were increasingly approaching the columns in their position. Colonists and slaves, on the contrary, at that time, were almost equal in rights to free people. The owners often gave the slave an allotment of land, for the use of which he gave part of the harvest or paid the owner the agreed amount. All that was left belonged to the cultivator. Both slaves and colonists possessed personal property and their own tools.<sup>99</sup>

Thus, the Western European peasantry consisted of a wide variety of people, from Roman slaves and freedmen to personally free German farmers. The large landowners

<sup>98</sup> Luzzatto, 1964.

<sup>99</sup> Poryaz, 2004.

included the German ancestral nobility, starting with the leaders and kings and the church, as well as representatives of the Roman nobility, who managed to maintain their public positions.

#### *4.4.2 Characteristics of the Frankish System of the 8th–11th Centuries*

The most extensive material for the study was left by the people of the Frankish state. The texts of their laws, the Salicic Truth and the Bavarian Truth provide a fairly complete picture of the agriculture of the Franks. The main occupation of the Franks was agriculture. Contrary to the claims of Roman historians who first encountered the Germans, the Franks were not nomads. They owned strictly defined lands that belonged to the entire community. Each of the families of the clans that were part of the community had land plots at their disposal, which the members of the clan cultivated together. The crops harvested from the allotment belonged to the family, but the land itself remained in communal ownership. It was in Frankish agriculture. The so-called interlace is widespread—a system of dividing arable land in which the field is “cut” into narrow strips, each of which belongs to one genus. A clan could have more than one or even two lanes at its disposal, but they were located far enough from each other without forming a single section.

The first major changes in the structure of agriculture in Western Europe occurred in the Frankish state during the Merovingian era. King Clovis practiced the distribution of lands to all soldiers who participated in the campaigns. The land became private property for the first time. It was then that the concept of allode appeared in the European economy. Allode was a land plot that was fully owned by the owner. Land could be donated, sold, exchanged, and bequeathed. The entire agriculture of the feudal West grew out of allods. They formed a free peasantry, thanks to which agriculture gradually began to emerge from the crisis that began even before the Great Migration of Peoples. The introduction of allodial land ownership was an indicator of major changes in the entire Frankish society. Like all Germanic peoples, the Franks had tribal foundations. The arable lands on which the community lived have always been public property. Each family or clan that had its plot had all the rights to the harvest, but not to the land. However, with the development of Frankish society, as the royal power strengthened to

the detriment of the power of the community elders, the old family ties began to break down. Ordinary community members preferred to run their own households to be independent from a huge family. Of these, the Frankish peasantry began to form—personally free people who possessed both tools of labor and all rights to the land they cultivated.<sup>100</sup>

Economically, the disintegration of the clan and the separation of individual allodial farmers were initially a positive change. But on the other hand, from now on, all the debts that the landowner committed, he was obliged to pay on his own, without the support of the family. Small allods gradually passed into the hands of the rich and the nobility who took land—the main wealth in the Middle Ages—from debtors. Allods, beneficial lands, and communal possessions in the Frankish state were nothing compared to the vast territories owned by kings and the Catholic Church. After each successful campaign of conquest, the church received vast lands as a gift from the king. The lands were also owned by monastic communities. Given the low level of development of agricultural implements and the scarcity of soils, a small-scale landowner was less likely to maintain his farm than a tax-free monastery. And little by little, the allodial plots of local peasants flowed into the monastery's possessions. Under the Merovingians, the practice of patronage was also introduced, when a peasant entered into the protection of a large landowner from the nobility, transferring his share to him.<sup>101</sup> The Church was also willing to take small landowners under its care. As a rule, in this case, the peasant gave his allode to the church, and in return received a *precarium* for life—a slightly larger plot, for which he was also obliged to earn an annua, corvee or pay rent. The widespread enslavement of the peasantry began. By the beginning of the tenth century, there were almost no allods left in Europe. They were replaced by fiefs, a new form of land ownership, which owed its origin to the vassal-seigniorial hierarchy of relations in medieval society.

The enslavement of peasants and their forcible "attachment" to cultivated land occurred especially rapidly in the Frankish kingdom. Charles Martell, who was the first to abolish the hereditary principle of granting lands to *vigilantes* and nobles, introduced

<sup>100</sup> Luzzatto, 1954.

<sup>101</sup> Vasiliukov, 1973.

a beneficiary system in which land was given to lifelong ownership, and after the death of the holder or in case of violation of the oath of allegiance it returned to the royal treasury. This policy had far-reaching consequences economically and socially. Professional warriors from the royal squad became virtually the only holders of any significant land plots. Ordinary community members turned from warriors into peasants. Since the king distributed lands inhabited and cultivated by peasants in the benefice, these peasants became dependent on the knight who received the land.

The vassal-seignorial relationship between the king and his warriors provided for the extension of the seigneur's power exclusively to the vassal, and not to those who obey this vassal. Therefore, the peasants in the beneficiary lands came under the rule of royal vassals. At first, the beneficiary system played a positive role for the king, as it strengthened the military power of the Frankish state. But over time, the king's vassals, the owners of major benefices, became a serious force. By the tenth century, benefices began to be inherited. This was the beginning of the development of the feudal system.

A fief, or *flak*, is a land allotment received by a noble from his master and belonging to him on the rights of hereditary property. The inheritance of a fief is its main difference from a benefit. The size of a fief could be anything from a single estate to an entire kingdom granted by the emperor to his vassal. Only noble people could own a fief. The lord allocated a fief to his vassal not so that he would engage in agriculture, but so that he would perform military service. In other words, the duty – the duty of a vassal to a liege lord – was military, not peasant. It is obvious that the fief was a possession intended for a person of "noble," military occupations.<sup>6</sup>

There was another characteristic of the fief as a form of ownership. If the allodial, which was widespread in the previous period, during the era of the formation of medieval society, and had practically disappeared from the economic system of Western Europe by the 10th–11th centuries, was unconditional personal and independent property, then the fief and its owner were in vassalage to the lord. The peasants who lived in the fiefs were only nominally free. In practice, the feudal lords enslaved them, forbidding them to leave the plots they cultivated and move either to another feudal lord

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<sup>6</sup> Luzzato, 1954.

or to cities where there was an opportunity to engage in handicrafts or trade. Already in the 9th century, two categories of dependent farmers were distinguished in the fiefs: serfs and villeins. The serfs were almost in the position of slaves. Legally, the serf was completely dependent on the will of the master. He had no right to transfer his property by inheritance. The heir of a peasant servant, his son or son-in-law, had to "buy back" his father's property from the feudal lord for a set fee. In addition to the usual taxes, which were levied on all farmers, the serfs paid the lord a poll tax. However, it would be wrong to call a medieval serf a slave. He could have a family, personal property, tools, and livestock.

Villan was not much different from Serf. From a legal point of view, he had all the rights of a free man. The villeins did not pay a poll tax, their personal property did not depend on the feudal lord in any way. The serfdom and other duties to which the villeins were subjected, along with the serfs, were not so burdensome for them. But like Serf, Villan was a serf. The land did not belong to him, he had no right to leave it, and his personal freedoms turned out to be minimal.<sup>103</sup>

The corvée represented a fairly extensive range of economic responsibilities. Each peasant in the community received a piece of land belonging to a local feudal lord for cultivation. The peasant was obliged to plow this land, sow, harvest and bring it fully to the owner of the land. Sometimes, the corvée was strictly regulated by time: three days a week, the peasant worked on the land of the feudal lord for three days: on his own plot. Sunday was considered a public holiday and forbidden for work. This ban was one of the most severe: in some places, working on Sunday was punished by the most terrible punishment for a medieval person: deprivation of personal freedom. Villan, who worked on Sunday, joined the ranks of the serfs. The land ownership of the church peasants was more diverse than that of those who belonged to secular feudal lords. The church farms were richer than most of the fiefs: the peasants had to take care of meadows, orchards, and vineyards.<sup>104</sup>

In addition to the land corvée, the peasant carried several other household duties. He was obliged to regularly provide a horse for the feudal lord's economic needs or to

<sup>103</sup> Luzzatto, 1954.

<sup>104</sup> Samarkin, 1964.

transport work with his team. This service was limited. The feudal lord could not force the peasants to carry goods over too long distances. This principle was stipulated in the laws particularly in the "Truth" of the Frankish state in various periods<sup>105</sup>. The construction duty was one of the corvée duties, but it stood apart. For its execution, the feudal lord was obliged to pay the peasants a specific remuneration. Peasants performing construction duties were engaged in the construction of household structures in the possessions of the feudal lord—barns, stables, and fences. The peasants were also obliged to pay the feudal lord an in-kind rent—a specific part of the harvest harvested from their plots. This was the tenth part about the church peasants—the famous church tithe in the Middle Ages, which everyone paid to the church without exception. Secular feudal lords could change the share they received as dues. Still, the dues remained an invariable part of the life of the agricultural community until the end of the Early Middle Ages. Only closer to the 11th and 12th centuries did the feudal lords gradually abandon the food tax in favor of cash payments. Since the end of the 12th century, monetary rent has replaced rent in almost all of Western Europe except for Germany, which has preserved feudal wealth in its purest form for the longest time. Along with corvée work and rent, communal peasants had to annually bring the feudal lord a fixed fee—church for using his pastures for grazing communal livestock. The mention of it in early medieval documents indicates that in the 8th and 9th centuries, the community of free farmers practically ceased to exist, losing its primary support—various land holdings. The communes were left with only strips of arable land—conditionally owned by peasants, actually and formally owned by the feudal lord on whose land the community was located.

From about the 7th to the 8th centuries, the enslavement of peasants was formalized by numerous laws<sup>106</sup>. At first, the church was especially zealous in this, striving to consolidate its position as the main landowner in the state. If a free community member owing money to the church did not manage to pay the debt before the agreed deadline, they first took away part of his cattle and increased his duties. It was not uncommon for a peasant to go out into the field on a Sunday afternoon in order

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<sup>105</sup> Visulikov, 1973.

<sup>106</sup> Samarkin, 1964.



to work out what he was supposed to do. And this was already considered a sin and was punished in accordance with the law. The first punishment for Sunday work was corporal punishment, which was not applied to free people. For the second such offense, a third of the peasant's property was taken away from him, and after the third time the church, whose land he cultivated, had the right to transfer him to the category of serfs.

*In conclusion*, it is necessary to note that the Frankish system of the 8th–11th centuries is a complex combination of ancestral traditions, feudalization, and the strengthening of state power. Agriculture organized on the principles of communal land ownership remained the basis of the economy. The Franks were not nomads, as Roman historians assumed, but led a sedentary lifestyle, cultivating land that was collectively owned.

Over time, the process of individualization of land ownership began. In the Merovingian era, King Clovis introduced the distribution of lands to his soldiers, which led to the emergence of *allods*—land plots that were fully owned by the owner. This was a turning point, as *allods* became the basis for the formation of a free peasantry. However, the same system also had negative consequences: without the support of the family, small landowners could not cope with debts and often lost their land, which passed to large landowners—the nobility and the church.

An important role in the agrarian system was played by cross-cutting when fields were divided into narrow strips belonging to different genera. However, with the strengthening of royal power, the old family ties were being destroyed, and more and more peasants aspired to independent farming. The introduction of the beneficiary system by Charles Martell in the 8th century contributed to the further feudalization of society. The land began to be transferred to the vassals not into full ownership, but into temporary possession. Vassal-seigneurial relations strengthened the military power of the state, but over time, the vassals began to transfer benefits by inheritance, which contributed to the final formalization of the feudal system.

The peasants who lived in the fiefs gradually lost their personal freedom. By the 9th century, most of them were attached to the land, and the land itself became the property of the feudal lords. The peasants were divided into two categories: serfs, who were almost in a servile position, and *villains*, who formally remained free but also

depended on the feudal lords. They were required to do corvée work on their master's lands several days a week, as well as pay taxes in kind or in money. The duties of the church peasants, who paid tithes in addition to the usual taxes, were especially heavy.

Thus, the Frankish system of the 8th–11th centuries went from a tribal system to feudalism. Initially, free peasants gradually lost their independence, finding themselves under the rule of the nobility and the church. The vassal–seignorial hierarchy finally took shape by the 11th century, consolidating the social stratification and dependence of peasants on landowners.

#### *4.4.3 A New Stage in the Development of the Economy (11th–14th Centuries)*

In no sphere of life in medieval Europe did the boundary between the Early and Middle Middle Ages run as clearly as in handicraft and technical development. Therefore, let us consider these aspects of the economic development of the Roman Empire and Italy.

The first half of this historical period was a time of stagnation and regression of society, which lasted from the 5th to the 11th century. It was only in the 11th century that crafts were revived, and new technical devices appeared. The early Middle Ages did not invent practically anything new. The low level of economic development in European countries, low needs, and the poverty of most of the population meant that there was no need to create new mechanisms. Basically, in the Early Middle Ages, they made do with an extremely meager set of mechanisms invented in antiquity. The medieval plow was a copy of the ancient plow, suitable for Mediterranean soils but capable of leaving only shallow furrows in dense clay soils. The watermill, which greatly contributed to the rapid development of a number of crafts, was practically not used in agriculture until the 9th century. It was replaced by manual millstones. There were very few machines and mechanisms in the Middle Ages. Hand tools prevailed everywhere, and for a long time, the main driving force remained the muscular strength of man or animals<sup>107</sup>.

One of the reasons for the poor development of technology in the Middle Ages is the poor development of science. Scientists preferred to study theology, the main

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<sup>107</sup> Luzzato, 1954.

science of the Middle Ages, which included all areas of human knowledge but explained them in terms of the divine. Back in the 11th and 12th centuries, the authors of a few treatises on crafts presented the craftsman's skill as a gift from God that could not be learned. On the other hand, the complete illiteracy of the population of Western Europe at that time led to the fact that all the secrets of the craft were passed from teacher to student orally, and there was no one to compile a textbook or a treatise. Those who knew the craft could not write or read, while a literate person did not know the secrets of the craft. And neither of them was interested in each other. The technical treatises of ancient authors were little known in the Middle Ages. Most of them were written in the Hellenistic era in Greek, which no one in medieval Europe knew. It was only during the Renaissance that humanist scholars began to restore it and translate Hellenistic treatises into Latin. It was then that mechanics began to flourish in Europe. Most of the mechanical devices used in the Middle Ages were related to construction. At the turn of the millennium, when new majestic temples made of wood and stone began to be erected throughout Western Europe, surpassing the buildings of the Dark Ages in size, it was impossible to do without large lifting mechanisms. For the most part, these mechanisms were again copied from the ancient ones. A winch played the main role in lifting heavy loads to a high altitude. Closer to the 12th century, a crane operating on the principle of a "squirrel wheel" was used in many places. Of course, in the Middle Ages, there were craftsmen who invented their own machines, but such nuggets were an exception to the general rule. In chronicles, it is not uncommon to find the name of a craftsman, architect, or engineer who created machines that helped build a cathedral or city building in a short time. Until the end of the Middle Ages, mechanics remained a mystery that could only be penetrated by divine inspiration rather than accurate knowledge. The complexity of the design and the high cost of the mechanisms in the Middle Ages prevented their widespread adoption.<sup>48</sup> Only a rich city could afford, for example, a crane for unloading merchant ships or a lift for the construction of a large cathedral.

Crafts related to wood processing were among the first to develop in medieval Europe. What was the richness of the region from where the Germanic barbarians came to the Roman Empire? It is a forest. In the era of the Dark Ages and the Early Middle

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<sup>48</sup> Vasukov, 1973.

Ages, the forest provided almost everything a person needed. The forest provided food, and the skins of wild animals were used for clothing and building materials. Stone architectural monuments of the Early Middle Ages are an insignificant part of what medieval people built. However, wood is less durable than stone, and therefore almost all the architecture of the Early Middle Ages is forever lost to the history of art. There were so many forests in Europe that they were used almost without restrictions. It was chopped for firewood, charcoal was burned from it. Still, the forest surrounded any human settlement, threatening to strangle civilization.<sup>109</sup> Therefore, despite all the benefits that the forest gave to people in the Early Middle Ages, a desperate struggle was waged against it. Clearing, which medieval peasants often resorted to in order to reclaim land from the forest for crops, was performed with an adze and a pickaxe.

The axe, drill, and saw were innovations of the High Middle Ages. Carpentry developed relatively late in Europe, which was caused by a general technical weakness. Not every kind of wood was suitable for the construction and maintenance of temples. It was often much more difficult to find tall timber than to cut down the trunk, and it was even more difficult to deliver the wood to the construction site. Timber was so valuable that in most Western European countries, it was forbidden to export it outside of the Christian world. In general, Europe traded wood very widely with the countries of the East, where timber was always in short supply, almost a luxury item. Actually, the attitude towards wood has changed with the development of trade. Forest lands became one of the most important components of any fief, and detailed royal inventories were compiled for them, for example, in France, where kings already at the end of the Early Middle Ages began to collect under their hands all the most valuable things that were in their lands and in the lands of their subjects. With the spread of the feudal system, village communities had to ask the feudal lord for permission to cut down a certain part of the forest for arable land. Illegal logging was considered a serious crime. In France, Italy, and England, those who violated the ban were severely punished, especially if the forest belonged to the king.<sup>110</sup>

<sup>109</sup> Poryaz, 2001.

<sup>110</sup> Luzzato, 1954.

Carpentry within the Roman Empire developed in the Early Middle Ages quantitatively rather than qualitatively. With the extremely limited set of tools available to the carpenter, it was possible to make only a purely utilitarian thing with a rather roughly treated surface. Most carpentry tools appeared in the everyday life of European craftsmen towards the end of the Middle Ages, and then carpentry and carpentry turned into art. Wooden sculpture has also been widespread since the 12th and 13th centuries. Medieval artisans achieved an amazing quality in processing wooden surfaces. In the statues of the Middle Ages, the naturalness and realism of the images, and the multitude of complex decorative elements are striking.

The extent to which carpentry was poorly developed in the early Middle Ages in Europe can be judged by the state of transport. Until the 13th century, in most regions of Western Europe, carts made of course of wood as the most affordable material, were rare. They carried most of the cargo on themselves. In one French monastery, local peasants, along with other corvée duties, were required to "carry sheaves for a distance of no more than six miles." It was only with the beginning of the heyday of trade and industry, with the advent of large fairs of pan-European importance in Italy, France, and Germany, that the need for wheeled herd transport became palpable, and on the roads of the medieval world, it became no more difficult to meet a cart with goods than a pedestrian or traveler carrying his cargo on a donkey.

Another craft related to the processing of wood was shipbuilding. Until the end of the Middle Ages, Scandinavia remained the undisputed leader in this area. The continental European inhabitants preferred overland routes, and their nautical skills were mainly associated with coastal shipping. Continental Europeans began to go to sea only in the 12th and 13th centuries. With the development of Italian industry and trade, trading republic cities such as Genoa and Venice flourished. At the other end of Europe, trade was monopolized by the Hansa, which was closely associated with the Normans. However, in general, the shipbuilding industry of the countries of continental Europe remained not up to par. As early as the beginning of the 14th century, no more than three dozen large vessels displaced about 300 tons sailed on all European maritime trade routes of the Republic of Venice. The Venetians rarely sent caravans of more than three

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<sup>61</sup> Luzzato, 1954.

ships on long voyages twice a year. It must be said that the Europeans did not know practically any navigation devices. The compass, which the Normans had long used, came into use in Europe only at the beginning of the 14th century, and more complex instruments were invented only in the Renaissance.

In the field of metalworking, the Early Middle Ages essentially lost its "barbaric" heritage. The barbarian peoples in the era of the Great Migration of Peoples were well-versed in the art of mining and processing iron, which crushed the Roman legions. However, these skills were almost completely lost over the subsequent half-thousand-year period of decline. The lack of machinery prevented the extraction of metals, even from shallow deposits. Very little iron was mined in the Dark Ages, and what was there was primarily used to manufacture weapons. Then, the sword, an expensive object that required careful processing, began to be considered an almost sacred object, one of the symbols of royal power. The iron sword occupies a very large place in the mythology and symbolism of the early Middle Ages. It is enough to recall the English legends of the Arthurian cycle. According to one of these legends, Arthur was recognized as king after he pulled out a sword from under a stone, which could only be taken out by "The King of Britain by Birth and Right."

Blacksmiths in the Dark Ages era were highly revered, and their craft was akin to art and witchcraft. In the German epic, the making of a good sword is described in no less detail than the hero's battle with a dragon. The hero Siegfried, the main character of the epic of the Nibelungs, forged his own sword, Notung, which made him invincible. Another character from the same epic and several other legends is the lame blacksmith Verund, who made many magnificent swords. The iron that was "left" for household needs was used almost exclusively to manufacture woodworking tools. These tools were valued for their weight in gold and owned only by prosperous farms, monasteries and courts of feudal lords. St Benedict, writing the charter of monastic life, wrote separately about storage conditions and work with metal tools. According to the charter, the monastery's abbot had the right to give iron tools only to skilful and careful monks who would not ruin the precious inventory.

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<sup>112</sup> Fionova, 1971a.

The following important branch of metalworking in the Middle Ages was jewelry and coinage. There were many skilled artisan jewelers in the Middle Ages, but each of them jealously guarded their secrets, passing them on only to the student. So, the development of jewelry craft in the Middle Ages can only be said conditionally. Like all other crafts, it developed mainly only quantitatively, not qualitatively. The number of jewelry items increased, but the artistic and technical techniques remained the same for centuries. The coin business, poorly developed in the Dark Ages, experienced a rise in the 11th-13th centuries. At that time, money almost completely replaced commodity exchange. Even the feudal peasants did not pay a product rent but a specific monetary rent for the plot. At the end of the Early Middle Ages, Europe had a well-developed both external and internal market. The increased production of agricultural products allowed peasants to trade them on the market for money rather than exchanging their products for goods from other farms.

However, in the 15th century, there was no mined gold and silver shortage in Europe. The rapidly developing trade and monetary economy required an ever-increasing money supply. Even the Silver Bridge, which ran from the East through Scandinavia, did not save the situation. The revival came only in the 16th century when gold flowed from newly discovered America into Europe. In the Middle Ages, Europeans mined lead and tin from other metals of practical importance. England was ahead of all other countries in mining these metals. As for tin, it was exported from England by the Romans during the island's conquest. According to some sources, British tin reached Sumerian merchants three thousand years before the new era.

From a technical point of view, the introduction of a watermill into blacksmithing played the leading role. Bellows pumped with the help of water energy have made it possible to make both quantitative and qualitative leaps. In the 13th century, blast furnaces came into use, which made it possible to achieve suitable metal purification. However, metallurgy as a branch of industry developed in Europe in the 17th century at the beginning of modern times.

The weaving craft is one of the few that experienced its true heyday in the Middle Ages. Italy, which ushered in a way out of the economic crisis, became a recognized

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<sup>131</sup> Sokolov, 1963.

leader in this field during the High Middle Ages. Almost all the major cities of Northern Italy in the 11th-13th centuries became centers of textile production. The scale of production has taken on an industrial scale. Florence, one of the most beautiful and richest cities of the High Middle Ages, was famous for its cloth, which merchants worldwide eagerly bought. Following Italy, cloth-making was developed in Flanders and France.<sup>14</sup> In Italy, the development of cloth production caused the development of the whole society. Artisans, who brought huge profits to the cities, began to unite in workshops that monopolized all production or some of its branches. In many commune towns, the guilds took over full power in the city. They determined the domestic and foreign policies of their cities. In many cities, power battles were fought between guilds and merchant guilds.

*In conclusion*, the period of the 11th-14th centuries became the most important stage in Europe's economic development. If the economy was characterized by isolation, technical stagnation, and poor craft development in the Early Middle Ages, then the High and Late Middle Ages brought significant changes to the agricultural sector, handicraft production, and trade.

One of the key factors of the economic recovery was the introduction of new technologies. In agriculture, this was reflected in the proliferation of a heavy plow, a three-pole system, and watermills, contributing to increased productivity. Lifting mechanisms were actively used in construction, allowing large-scale stone structures, including Gothic cathedrals. The development of carpentry and carpentry made it possible to create better wooden structures and also influenced transport and shipbuilding.

Metallworking, which was in deep crisis in the Dark Ages, began developing actively starting in the 11th century. The introduction of water bellows for blacksmiths contributed to the growth of iron production, and the use of blast furnaces in the 13th century improved the quality of the metal. At the same time, the jewelry craft remained relatively conservative, and knowledge was passed on only to a narrow circle of craftsmen.

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<sup>14</sup> Karpov, 1985.



The weaving industry, on the other hand, has experienced rapid growth, especially in the cities of Italy and Flanders. Cloth production was one of the first examples of a medieval "industry" organized into a workshop system. Economic growth has led to the strengthening of commercial cities, the development of fairs, and the expansion of markets. The Italian Republic cities (Venice, Genoa), which controlled maritime trade, played a particularly important role.

The coin business, which had previously been in decline, received a new impetus in the 11th–13th centuries. The spread of money circulation contributed to trade development and cities' growth. However, by the 15th century, the shortage of precious metals had become a deterrent, which was subsequently offset by the influx of gold from America.

Thus, the 11th–14th centuries saw significant economic progress, which laid the foundations for further growth in the Renaissance.

#### ***4.4.4 Agriculture in the Upper Middle Ages***

Agriculture was the only branch of the economy that continued to exist in Western Europe during the Early Middle Ages. However, the constant epidemics of famine that raged throughout the Dark Ages indicate a clear decline in agricultural production. The constant barbarian raids did not contribute to the normal cultivation of fields, and the development of agricultural tools came to naught. Agricultural technologies also froze at the level of the end of the Roman Empire. It was precisely in poor agricultural machinery that the causes of the decline of agriculture and widespread famine during the second half of the first millennium were rooted. In most areas of barbaric Europe, after the Great Migration of Peoples, as mentioned above, the Roman plow became widespread—symmetrical, suitable for the shallow soil of Greece and Italy, but unable to dig up dense soil properly. In addition, the lack of iron forced peasants to make plows out of wood, burning the colter for strength. Such a plow could not plow the clay soil that prevailed in continental Europe. Therefore, in most European countries, peasants were forced to plow the same strip of land three or four times. Everything was limited to plowing. Western European peasants learned how to successfully control weeds only in the 11th century, when a harrow with teeth appeared.

in agricultural tools, tearing out strong stems and roots of thistles and quinoa from the ground. The Germanic peoples treasured the arable lands but did not care for them very carefully. The peasants often had no opportunity to take care of the land properly: to clear and fertilize it, and therefore, after two years of cultivation, the land began to run out of steam. To allow it to recover, farmers left this area of the field and moved to another one.<sup>15</sup>

In the Early Middle Ages, under the rule of feudal land ownership, peasant communities were forced to look for more and more land suitable for arable land but not used. In the 11th and 12th centuries, the population of Western Europe grew rapidly. There were not enough meager harvests for everyone, but instead of more thorough cultivation of existing soils, medieval farmers preferred to expand arable land simply. There were opportunities for this. Forests occupied a significant part of European lands.

For the young civilization of the Christian West, in which the city began to play a major role, the forest was a symbol of primitive savagery. The vast forests made it difficult for merchants and travelers to travel. Robbers and wild animals were hiding in the forests, devouring crops and attacking people. Peasants and townspeople did not hesitate to enjoy the benefits of the forest. Animal meat and berries provided food for humans. Pigs were allowed to graze in the forest. In winter, the forest provided firewood and charcoal. However, at the same time, the forest occupied a place that could be used for arable land. The clearing was mainly carried out on shrubs at the forest's edge. If it was necessary to quickly clear a significant area of the forest, it was simply burned out. Due to this, the soil was also fertilized with ash. By the 14th century, the so-called "three-field" system had become widespread in Europe, in which the field was divided into three parts, and two of the three parts were cultivated each year.<sup>16</sup> This system allowed the land to recover a little, and the site remained suitable for agriculture longer.

Another reason for the low yields and rapid depletion of land in the Middle Ages was subsistence farming. For a long time, it was considered exemplary, able to fully provide itself with everything necessary. In practice, this meant that the owner could plant grapes or fruit trees where the climate was completely unsuitable for them, in order

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<sup>15</sup> Porvaz, 2001.

<sup>16</sup> Luzzato, 1954.

to have everything of his own on the farm. And if the peasant was forced to obey the demand of his feudal lord, then nature categorically refused to do so, and the harvests were negligible. Accordingly, the yield of the actual arable lands also fell. In a difficult year, the harvest could be so poor that it only returned the seeds thrown into the soil in the spring.

The Dark Ages were the era of grain farming. Medieval peasants sowed rye, barley, and wheat. Many modern researchers attribute the pre-crisis recovery and the liberation of Western Europe from the constant threat of famine primarily to the fact that by the end of the tenth century, beans, vegetables, and protein-rich foods began to form the basis of the food of peasants and urban residents. Cattle breeding was not just one of the branches of medieval agriculture. In the era of the Dark Ages and the Dark Middle Ages, it was a vital industry. With extremely meager grain harvests, surviving without livestock would be impossible. In the Early Middle Ages, the most common domestic animal on European peasant farms was a pig, which was unpretentious and did not require special care. She was usually released for the whole summer to graze in the nearby forest, and to spend the winter fat on acorns. In late autumn, the pig was slaughtered and lived on its meat all winter. Another important animal in the economy of the Middle Ages is the cow. But not everyone had cows. When communal land ownership finally gave way to feudal land ownership, and the peasants lost extensive public pastures, the cow became a luxury unavailable to every owner. The cow was one of the main values in the household. Most court documents of the 8th century indicate that a peasant who violated the ban on Sunday work was first stripped of his entire property by a cow, if there was one. Keeping a cow was difficult because it had to be grazed and foraged for the winter. In the era of communal land ownership, the problem of pastures was solved simply. The animals belonged to the entire community, and one or more shepherds supervised the safety of the cattle. After most of the lands passed into the hands of the feudal lords, the inhabitants of the community had to pay for the use of pasture.<sup>5</sup> In addition, the virtually collapsed community could not always afford to keep a shepherd. Owning at least one cow guaranteed the owner that he would not starve.

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Kotelnikova, 1966

<sup>5</sup> Luzzato, 1954

to death. And a herd of several animals was already of great value. In continental Europe in the Early Middle Ages, almost no free peasant farms owned at least a small herd of cows. Milk, cheese, and other dairy products served the owner as an excellent source of income. The bulls also served as draft animals. They were much more unpretentious than horses. The bull could be slaughtered for meat. The use of oxen for plowing was especially common in the Mediterranean regions. This tradition, which originated in antiquity, gradually receded into the past in the Middle Ages.

The horse became the main draft animal at the end of the Early Middle Ages. Horses in the Middle Ages were much weaker and smaller than they are today. The working cattle suffered the same hardships of famine and crop failures as the peasants. The exception was war horses, which had nothing to do with agriculture. The breeding of war horses is a separate branch related to the military crafts of the Middle Ages. In addition to their excellent physical characteristics, they were specially trained in behavior on the battlefield. A well-trained horse was expensive, and not every knight could afford it. Keeping a horse on a farm was also tricky because it had to be fed with oats. And a horse suitable for work was quite expensive. Even the feudal lords could not always provide themselves with the correct number of horses.<sup>9</sup> It was not for nothing that, among the numerous corvée duties of a peasant in a feudal household, it was separately stipulated how many times a year he should provide his horse for carriage or come with it himself.

Sheep breeding was an important help in the peasant economy. Like most types of livestock, sheep brought more difficulties than income. The sheep had to be grazed, sheared, and foraged for the winter. Therefore, in the era of feudalism, sheep flocks were often kept in large farms, such as monasteries. Despite this, sheep farming was quite widespread in the Middle Ages. Italy was one of the centers of sheep farming, especially in the southern regions, as well as the North German regions. Alpine meadows provided a sufficient amount of succulent grass for livestock. The fact that there was practically no feudal land ownership in the Alps, in the territory of the future Switzerland, only contributed to the preservation of large communal pastures and large sheep flocks. In the Middle Ages, the donkey acted as a draft and pack animal, in addition to the ox and

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<sup>9</sup> Kotelnikova, 1952.

horse". He was much weaker but he was inexpensive and distinguished by his endurance and unpretentiousness in food and care. Feudal lords, describing the duty especially pointed out to their vassals in the corvée: "You must come with your bull, or horse, or donkey". Apparently the donkey was the main draught force in the poorest farms, but wealthy community members also used it to transport goods.

An unprecedented revival in the Christian world marked the end of the Early Middle Ages. The inhabitants of Europe, who had previously been firmly attached to their allotment, community, and the castle of the feudal lord, who guaranteed protection from attack, traveled constantly in the 11th-13th centuries, and the donkey played a key role. Pets were not only a boon for medieval agriculture but also a curse. Herds of sheep and goats roaming the fields and meadows often devastated crops by climbing onto arable land. Large landowners, village communities, and assemblies of townspeople who owned land in the district imposed severe fines for the loss. The size of the fine was impressive. So, keeping a vigilant eye on the flock was more profitable for the shepherd. Medieval legal documents are often written about losses, which is understandable. The land remained more valuable than all other branches of agriculture. Poultry was also bred in the Middle Ages. Chicken eggs were an obligatory part of the rent in most feudal estates in the 9th-11th centuries. Waterfowl were bred in monastic farms, which was an unattainable model for most farms of that era.

In an era when the old trade relations were destroyed, and new ones were just being formed, a good economy had to provide itself with everything necessary. This was the case with peasant communities, secular fiefs, and monasteries. However, the monks had much more experience of self-sufficiency. One of the main requirements of the monastic rule was to have as little contact with the outside world as possible. The monks were forced to do all the household chores themselves. Over time, when the church diligently began accumulating heavenly and earthly riches, the monastery's inhabitants received bread and other products from the peasants who worked on the lands belonging to the monastery. At the same time, a variety of agricultural production began to develop within the monastery walls. In the Early Middle Ages, a rich monastery was an example

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<sup>120</sup> Poryaz, 2001.

<sup>121</sup> Poryaz, 2001.

of a closed economy that provided itself with everything its inhabitants needed. Unlike a peasant, the monastery could easily keep a large herd of cows or sheep, since the grazing land belonged to him. Cheese factories, churns, and storage facilities for dairy products were built inside the monastery walls.

Cattle breeding was one of the main economic activities in many monasteries. Moreover, the monks approached the matter very inventively. In particular, in monasteries, pigs were widely used to search for truffles, mushrooms considered an exquisite delicacy. Poultry farming in the Middle Ages was also mainly the occupation of the inhabitants of monasteries. In some areas of Western Europe, monasteries revived beekeeping. Herbalism was a separate element of the monks' household chores in monasteries. On a small plot inside the monastery walls, almost every large monastery grew various medicinal herbs, the seeds of which were imported from various countries. The herbalist monks strictly monitored these plots, providing each plant with proper care. Do not forget that monasteries in the Middle Ages were the only place where lay people could seek medical help. In such conditions, herbalism acquired special importance. The monasteries accumulated significant stocks of food, meat, fish, and seeds for sowing. It would be wrong to imagine the monastery as a miser, selling bread and seeds to the peasants at exorbitant prices, especially during the famine years. When famine struck, the monasteries distributed a significant part of their supplies free of charge to the starving peasants of the district. Monasteries were the only "charitable" organization in that cruel time. Often, to buy food for the local population, the abbots of monasteries pawned manuscripts from the monastery libraries and jewelry from the monastery treasury. It happened that the monastery could redeem the mortgage only thanks to the donation of a wealthy benefactor.

The monastery was an exemplary household of the feudal era. Versatile production provided the holy brothers with literally everything. Sheep provided wool, pigs and cows provided meat and skins, from which parchments were made. Rich monasteries in France and Italy could rightfully be proud of their extensive vineyards, from which merchants from other countries willingly bought wine. It was from the monasteries that technical improvements gradually spread. Thus, monks of the

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<sup>2</sup> V. Ilan, 1902

Cistercian order built one of the first watermills in the Middle Ages. This was immediately severely condemned by the head of the order, who accused the mills of spreading worldly sentiments in monastic minds. Nevertheless, the top leaders of the Catholic Church quickly realized how important it is for a monastery to be independent of the vicissitudes of worldly life with its crop failures, wars, and other troubles. Saint Benedict of Nursia, the founder of one of the most significant monastic orders of the Middle Ages, wrote "A monastery should be organized in such a way as to produce everything necessary: have water, a mill, a garden, and handicrafts – so that monks go outside the monastery walls less often and are not exposed to worldly temptations."

No matter how primitive agriculture was in Europe in the Middle Ages, it was impossible without technical devices. Nevertheless, improving basic agricultural equipment in this era was extremely slow. Until the 9th century, animals were harnessed during plowing with the help of the burden of an outdated antique yoke. Europe only switched to using a yoke in the 10th and 11th centuries. The essence of the innovation was as follows. The yoke pressed on the animal's chest and throat, making it difficult to breathe and reducing productivity. The yoke redistributed the pressure and shifted it to the shoulders. At the same time, oxen and horses were harnessed for the first time at the turn of the millennium. The plough could be harnessed to four or more animals at once, which made it possible to transport heavy loads that a pair of teams could not handle. Heavy loads were primarily understood as building materials such as stone and wood. The construction of churches and public buildings, which began shortly after the year 1000, became possible primarily due to the introduction of a new type of harness.

The watermill is one of those innovations that ensured the technical and economic progress of the Middle Ages in the 11th–13th centuries. The beginning of the High Middle Ages coincided with the development of various crafts, and many of them used the mill as a source of cheap energy. Italian clothiers were the first to put the watermill into their service. Then, the mill found an application in blacksmithing and in leathercraft. However, the mills spread exceptionally slowly. It took a hundred years for all the major cloth centers of Northern Italy – the most industrially developed region of Western Europe in the century – to acquire them. Blacksmithing is another area of water

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<sup>121</sup> Kotejukova, 1966.

energy application, perhaps the most important for the economic growth of the Christian world at the end of the Middle Ages. Iron tools are used almost everywhere. As for agriculture, a new plow with an asymmetrical metal coiler was introduced at the end of the 12th century. The new plow design made it possible to plow even dense clay soils deeply. Accordingly, the earth could "breathe", absorb moisture better and produce richer harvests.

*In conclusion*, it is necessary to note that the Upper Middle Ages became an era of gradual recovery and development of agriculture after a long period of decline associated with barbarian invasions, the destruction of Roman infrastructure and general instability. If agriculture was in crisis in the Early Middle Ages due to primitive technologies and low yields, then changes began in the 11th century, significantly improving agricultural production.

One key factor in the changes was the introduction of new agricultural technologies. The transition from the primitive Roman plow to more complex structures with iron plowshares made it possible to cultivate the dense soils of continental Europe more efficiently. The spread of the toothharrow played an important role, contributing to weed control and increased yields. In addition, the development of a three-field cultivation system ensured its partial restoration and led to an increase in acreage.

The extensive farming method continued to prevail. Peasants sought to expand arable land by cutting down forests and burning vegetation, which temporarily fertilized the soil but led to the depletion of natural resources. At the same time, the population was growing, demanding more and more food, which forced people to explore new territories and improve agricultural practices actively.

The diversity of cultures gradually increased. If, in the early Middle Ages, the basis of the diet was grains (wheat, rye, barley), then by the 11th century, legumes and vegetables began to be actively grown, increasing nutrition and reducing dependence on grain harvests. This played an important role in overcoming the chronic hunger characteristic of the Dark Ages.

Cattle breeding remained the most crucial part of the economy. Pigs grazing in the forests remained the peasants' primary meat source. Cows were valuable but rare possessions, and sheep were actively bred in monasteries and large farms to obtain wool.



The horse gradually replaced the bull as the main draft animal, although its maintenance remained expensive. Donkeys served as a cheap transportation for the poorest peasants.

Monasteries played a considerable role in the development of agriculture. They accumulated agricultural knowledge and contributed to introducing technical improvements such as watermills. Herbalism, beekeeping, and cattle breeding were practiced in monastic farms, and accumulated food supplies often saved the population during famine years.

Thus, agriculture in the Upper Middle Ages remained primitive compared to later epochs, but it already showed progress. The improvement of tools, the development of agricultural technology, the expansion of cultivated land, and the spread of new crops gradually overcame the agrarian crisis and set the stage for further economic growth in Europe.

#### **4.5 Conclusion**

Summarizing the results of Chapter 4, it is necessary to conclude that the development of the society and economy of the Roman Empire during the early Middle Ages was due to the profound historical changes that took place on the territory of the empire. The main events and processes included:

1. The Great Migration of Peoples (4th–6th centuries) destroyed the ancient economic system. Migrations of Germanic, Slavic, and other tribes changed the ethnic map of Europe, causing the decline of cities, the reduction of commodity-money relations, and the transition to subsistence farming.

2. The era of Lombard expansion (6th–8th centuries) contributed to the formation of new political and economic structures in Italy. Despite the significant weakening of centralized power, elements of the feudal system began to emerge in some regions.

3. Barbarism in Europe during the Ottonian Empire (9th–10th centuries) led to the consolidation of feudal relations. The economy remained predominantly agrarian, and political fragmentation contributed to the growth of local lords' power.

4 The High Middle Ages (9th–14th centuries) became a stage of urban growth, trade, and handicraft production. During this period, the revival of the economy began, especially in Northern Italy, where early capitalism began.

Among the social features of society in the territory of the Roman Empire, it is necessary to highlight:

1 Monastic education played an important role in the preservation and transfer of knowledge and in the development of economic activities. Monasteries have become not only centers of religious life but also large economic units that organize agricultural production and handicraft activities.

2 The social system of the Franks laid the foundations of a feudal society with a system of vassalage and beneficial grants, which contributed to the development of peasants' dependence on landowners.

3 The formation of feudal society (10th–13th centuries) was characterized by the consolidation of feudal relations, the growth of cities, and the emergence of trade guilds, which became the foundation for Europe's future economic development.

Consequently, the Roman Empire's economic component was also changing. The economic situation in the Middle Ages (3rd–6th centuries) was caused by the crisis of the slave system and the decline of crafts and trade. During this period, there was a transition to patronage and colonization, which foreshadowed the development of feudal relations. The Frankish system (8th–11th centuries) contributed to developing feudal relations based on subsistence farming and the vassal fief system. One of the most critical elements of the economy was the domanial economy, in which peasants worked for the feudal lord in exchange for protection and land. A new stage in the development of the economy (11th–14th centuries) was marked by the growth of cities, the expansion of trade, and the emergence of new management forms. The development of trade routes, the emergence of the banking system, and the growth of manufactures testified to the gradual transition to a market economy.

Thus, the economic development of the Roman Empire in the early Middle Ages was determined by complex historical processes, including the migration of peoples, the feudalization of society, the growth of monastic farms, and the development of trade.

Gradually the feudal economy gave way to market relations, which paved the way for future economic transformations in Europe

## Chapter 5

### Economic and Social Characteristics of Renaissance Italy

#### 5.1 Introduction

Chapter 5 analyzes key aspects of the Italian states' social and economic life during the Renaissance's formation and heyday. The Renaissance, which spanned the 13th-15th centuries, was marked by profound changes in the social, political, and economic spheres, which predetermined the further development of Europe. This chapter will address issues related to the transformation of the social order and the development of industry, crafts, trade, and banking.

The first block of the analysis focuses on the socio-political situation of Italy during the study period. Subsection 5.2.1 examines the situation at the turn of the 13th-14th centuries when the Italian lands were a conglomerate of city-states, principalities, and papal states constantly fighting for political supremacy. Section 5.2.2 pays special attention to the social composition of society, particularly the peasantry and the Popolani, the urban lower and middle class, which played a significant role in the development of republican forms of government. Subsection 5.2.3 examines the factors that contributed to the economic prosperity of Northern Italy, where trade and craft centers were concentrated. Finally, section 5.2.4 highlights the transformations that took place at the end of the 14th century when adaptation to new economic and political realities occurred.

The second block of the chapter (5.3) is devoted to the economic characteristics of Renaissance Italy. The development of industrial relations, the growth of handicraft production, and the strengthening of the role of workshops are discussed in subsection 5.3.1. Special attention is paid to the mechanism of functioning of workshop organizations and their impact on city states' economies. Section 5.3.2 examines the industrial structure of the 14th-15th centuries, including textile and metalworking, and subsection 5.3.3 examines the development of handicraft work and the emergence of new technical innovations that influenced further progress.

The third part of the chapter (5.4) examines Italy's trade and economic relations in the Renaissance. Section 5.4.1 analyzes the development of maritime trade, which

played a crucial role in providing Italian city-states with resources and wealth. The development of overland trade routes and their impact on the economy of the Italian republics are discussed in subsection 5.4.2. The last section of the chapter (5.4.3) examines banking, which has become an essential component of the Italian economic system, ensuring the financial stability and prosperity of cities such as Florence, Genoa, and Venice.

Thus, this chapter is a comprehensive study of the social and economic structure of Renaissance Italy, revealing the features of the political structure, the position of various strata of society, the development of crafts and trade, and the factors that predetermined the success of Italian city-states on the path to prosperity.

## **5.2 Social and Political Situation in Italy**

### ***5.2.1 Italy at the Turn of the Century (13th and 14th Centuries)***

In 1250, during a fierce struggle with the Papacy and the northern cities, Frederick II of Hohenstaufen, Emperor of the German Empire and King of Southern Italy, died. His death meant the collapse of his political program, which was to unite Italy under his rule, turn it into a centralized state, and make it the center of the empire instead of Germany. The collapse of this program left Italy fragmented into many separate states, which were very insignificant, but for centuries, they were fighting for their independent existence.

Italy of the 13th–16th centuries was not a single state like France, England, and the German Empire. It remained a geographical concept, not a political one. Only the common language united the different parts of the peninsula. The magnificent southern nature, the fertility of some localities, the richness of the Apennine Mountains along the entire length of the peninsula, and the abundance of large and wealthy cities made Italy one of the most affluent parts of Europe.<sup>44</sup> The political fragmentation associated with the uneven economic, political, and cultural development of individual parts of the peninsula prevented its transformation into a powerful united state such as England and France.

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<sup>44</sup> Baklan, 1994.

The main parts into which Italy politically disintegrated in the middle of the 13th century were the following. The Sicilian or Neapolitan Kingdom occupied the entire south of the peninsula. Founded at the end of the 11th century by several squads of French Norman knights, it had a diverse population: the Lombards, whose independent duchies existed until the beginning of the 12th century, the Byzantine Greeks, who were considered the official owners of Southern Italy, the Moors, Arabs, who had long owned Sicily, a large number of Jews who densely inhabited southern Europe. Despite such a diverse population, the Sicilian Kingdom had a unified social and political structure. The French Normans everywhere imposed feudal relations and a transparent state organization based on the monarchical principle. Having almost no large trade and craft cities, the economically backward Sicilian kingdom received the first developed state apparatus in Europe, codes of laws, and a detailed tax system. The reign of Frederick II of Hohenstaufen (1215–1250), who inherited the Kingdom of Sicily from his mother Constance, the last representative of the Norman dynasty, further emphasized the main features of the Sicilian Kingdom, more vividly highlighted its feudal and bureaucratic character.<sup>45</sup>

From the north, the Kingdom of Sicily bordered the Papa, Region or Patrimonium of St. Louis, Peter. This state had a unique character, unlike any other European state. Serving as the residence of the head of the Catholic Church, the Pope, the papa, region was a spiritual organization while remaining an ordinary political entity subordinate to the pope as a secular sovereign. This dual spiritual and secular character of the Papal Region left a unique imprint on its entire history and the history of Rome.<sup>46</sup> With relatively insignificant political forces and very significant material resources that flocked to them from all over the Catholic world, the popes could not secure firm domination over individual cities that were part of the region, for example, Bologna, Ferrara, Rimini, Urbino, and over individual large feudal lords. As a result, the cities of the Papal States often became virtually independent of Rome. The feudal lords, especially the most powerful baronial families of Colonna, Orsini, and Savelli, felt like independent sovereigns, pursued their own policies, and sought and formed alliances,

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<sup>45</sup> Gulovsky, 1990.

<sup>46</sup> Gulovsky, 1990.

However, the popes, unable to achieve obedience in their state with the help of spiritual weapons and means, could play a significant political game outside their state and claim dominance over the whole of Italy.

On the western coast of the Mediterranean Sea, north of the Papacy, Tuscany was located – an area that did not have a single political organization, divided between many small states, the most significant of which were Pisa, Siena, and Florence. Pisa – a port city located at the mouth of the Arno River – has become one of the leading trading posts in Europe since the 11th century. With a very small surrounding territory, but many strongholds in the East conquered by the Crusaders, Pisa was strong with its merchant and military fleet and the entrepreneurial spirit of its merchants, who, from the beginning of the 13th century, were masters of the political life of the city and occupied all the leading positions of its republican government apparatus. Siena was also an independent republic with an insignificant territory located relatively far from the sea, so it could not actively participate in overseas trade, being a city of developed textile craft and usury. Siennese moneylender bankers occupied a leading position in Italy and often conducted their business far beyond its borders<sup>127</sup>.

Later than Pisa and Siena, Florence, one of the leading cities in Tuscany, developed extremely rapidly and intensively. Located on the middle reaches of the Arno River, the mouth of which belonged to Pisa, the city went down in history as the residence of the Margraves of Tuscany – the most prominent feudal lords of Central Italy. Florence, which was not located on the seashore, stood out by the beginning of the 13th century for its developed craft, which primarily produced delicate and expensive woolen fabrics. Suppliers sold their products throughout Italy, Europe, and parts of Asia by ordering raw materials for fabric production from abroad, from England. So Florence played a significant role as a shopping center, and later as a center of banking and usury, second only to Siena. According to its political structure, Florence, like Pisa and Siena, was a republic in which descendants of old feudal families, “grandees” or “magnates,” and new people from the people – wealthy woodworkers, merchants, and bankers, or popolans, fought for power<sup>128</sup>.

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<sup>127</sup> Baklan, 1995.

<sup>128</sup> Rubenbug, 1991.

The Republic of Genoa was located north of Tuscany along the Mediterranean coast. It resembled Pisa in its political, social, and economic structure. The city was primarily engaged in maritime trade and navigation. Since the 11<sup>th</sup> century, Genoa has made successful attempts to extend its trade influence to the northern coast of Africa, Palestine, and Syria, where it gained many strongholds as a result of the Crusades. Like Pisa and Florence, Genoa was the scene of a continuous struggle between the citizens associated with trade and crafts, and the feudal lords, who protected their ephemeral rights to govern the city and its district.<sup>49</sup>

From the north, the narrow coastal strip of the territory of the Republic of Genoa was bordered by a low-lying swampy land, and to the north by a mountainous region, Lombardy, dominated by one of the oldest and most prominent cities in Italy – Milan. The city received an independent communal structure early on, leading the victorious struggle of the Lombard cities against the German emperors. Milan was twice destroyed by the vengeful Frederick I Barbarossa and was defeated by his grandson Frederick II, but it remained an important political and economic center. In it, social stratification and the associated class struggle were developed especially early and firmly.

Lombardy was bordered by several independent cities in the east, which often changed hands and fell victim to strong adventurers from Padua and Verona. Beyond them lay, by the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the still relatively insignificant possessions of the third largest maritime trading republic, Venice. The city was located on a group of low islands on the northern coast of the Adriatic Sea. Since the time of the Crusades, Venice has become a bridge between Western Europe and Asia. The Fourth Crusade (1204) significantly strengthened Venice's commercial and political positions. As a result of this campaign, the Latin Empire was created on the remnants of Byzantium, in which Venice took a dominant position. Socially, it was a city with a unique structure. Without entering the stage of feudalism in its developed forms, it promoted several dozen patrician families with relatively insignificant land holdings and based their well-being on maritime trade. These patrician families were a decisive force in the political governance of the state. From among them, the doge was elected, the lifelong ruler of

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<sup>49</sup> Baklan, 1994.



Venice, who at first had real power but gradually lost it and became a puppet in the hands of the patrician oligarchy<sup>120</sup>

The picture of Italian political life in the middle of the 13th century was reduced to a struggle between two parties. These parties arose in the first quarter of the 13th century and were nicknamed "Guelphs" and "Ghibellines." The Guelph Party got its name from the German family of the Welfs, the main enemies and rivals of the Hohenstaufen empire. At first, belonging to the Guelph party meant only hostility to the Hohenstaufen and the empire they led and a desire for liberation from the increasingly outdated and senseless rule of the German emperors over Italy. However, during the end of the 12th and the first half of the 13th century, the Roman popes were the most bitter enemies of the German emperors in Italy. Therefore, the Guelph party gradually became hostile to the emperor and began to support the popes. The Ghibeline party got its name from one of the ancestral castles of the Hohenstaufen family – Weibingen. This name gave rise to the word "ghibeline", which began to be assigned to all supporters of the empire, and later to all enemies of the papacy.

*In conclusion*, it is necessary to note that the turn of the 13th-14th centuries finally became the time for Italy to consolidate its political fragmentation. After the death of Frederick II of Hohenstaufen, the collapse of his unification policy left the peninsula in a state of many independent states, each of which sought to preserve and strengthen its independence. Unlike France and England, Italy did not become a centralized state; instead, it remained a geographical concept, not a political one.

By this time, Italy's political structure was a complex mosaic of various forms of government. The Sicilian Kingdom remained in the south, characterized by a developed bureaucratic apparatus but economically backward. Central Italy was controlled by the Papal States, whose dual spiritual and secular nature determined its unstable position. At the same time, the north of the peninsula was divided between many rich and prosperous urban republics such as Florence, Genoa, Venice, and Milan, each with its unique social and economic structure.

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<sup>120</sup> Shukov, 1965.

<sup>121</sup> Gukovsky, 1990.

<sup>122</sup> Poryaz, 2001.

An essential role in the political life of Italy was played by the struggle of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, which split cities and regions into two opposing camps. This struggle contributed to increased instability and hindered the possible unification of the peninsula. The support of the Guelphs by the Roman popes and the alliance of the Ghibellines with the imperial government made Italy the scene of an ongoing conflict involving both local rulers and external forces.

Despite its political fragmentation, Italy retained its importance as one of Europe's economic and cultural centers. Developed trade, active banking, and handicraft production contributed to the prosperity of individual cities. Centers such as Venice, Genoa, Florence, and Milan became powerful economic and political entities whose influence went far beyond Italy.

In general, the political situation in Italy at the turn of the 13th-14th centuries created the prerequisites for further conflicts and transformations. The struggle between various states and political groupings and the intervention of external forces determined the peninsula's future history. In the following centuries, Italy remained divided, which, on the one hand, hindered its political unification but, on the other hand, contributed to cultural and economic development that anticipated the Renaissance.

### ***5.2.2 The Situation of the Peasantry and Popolans***

In addition to the reasons for the internal order that operated in each center individually, which formed a general trend, the foreign policy situation in Italy had a significant impact on the social situation. The Hundred Years' War between Eng and and France entered a new phase after the Peace of Brétigny (1360). In France, the "jacquerie" loomed, and in England, the uprising of Wat Tyler shook the country's social structure. In the German Empire, the reign of Charles IV made the Czech Republic the center of the state, significantly changed its political structure, economy and culture, and simultaneously prepared the Hussite revolutionary movement. In the Balkans, the Turkish advance threatened the entire Mediterranean, especially Italian eastern trade. The peasants had already forgotten about their complete serfdom on the feudal lord, but they were utterly dependent on the owners of the plots of land on which

they sat as tenant farmers.<sup>2</sup> It can be assumed that the relationship between a peasant and a rich urban landowner was, as before, patriarchal in nature. The owner gave the tenant gifts, lent him tools, and followed his personal and family life events. Still, in fact, exploitation was hidden behind this patriarchal, semi-feudal facade. According to tradition, handouts were made to calm the owner's conscience not to drive the peasants to despair. More than a hundred years of the struggle of the urban population for freedom from the tycoons, for greater rights and a better life for the "skinny people" – a struggle in which the villagers also took a significant part, was by no means in vain. The peasants, even in the most miserable corners, as well as the urban artisans and workers, were full of hope for an improvement in their plight. These hopes were supported by the victories of the neighbors of the townspeople and the direct or indirect decisions of the city authorities to eliminate various forms of serfdom. The teachings of the humanists, who focused on the individual with his needs and interests, heavenly and earthly, weakened and often distorted, reached the rural hinterland, awakened self-awareness, and raised self-esteem. At the end of the 14th century, after the defeat of urban movements and the solid consolidation of the power of "fat" townspeople in many cities, the hopes of the peasant population turned out to be in vain, and the capitalist pressure of the landowner-citizen firmly replaced the feudal oppression of the landowner-lord. The mood among the rural, as well as the urban lower classes, has plummeted. Hatred of the rich, people like themselves, has taken hold of a significant part of the peasants.

The consciousness of social injustice among the unarmed and disorganized peasant did not develop into an open protest, but paralyzed his energy, making him leaderless, thinking only about today. This condition could not but affect the general situation in the village, which not only did not develop but also went backward economically. The sentiments recorded, for example, in Sermoni's novel, were widespread enough. So, in the folk poems of the Venetian region between the 15th and 16th centuries, there was hatred of exploiters and despair at the possibility of improving their hopeless situation. The aggravation of class relations, which was clearly manifested in the texts, led to open clashes. So, in 1384, there was a serious peasant uprising in

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<sup>23</sup> The Italian Renaissance, 1966

Parma, in 1438, the same uprising raged in Ravenna, and in 1467 in Piacenza.<sup>34</sup> However, the uprisings were local in nature. They did not provoke widespread responses, being indicators of widespread and aggravated relations between peasants and landowners, rather than major political and social events. The situation in the city was exceptionally vividly demonstrated by a survey of experienced people of his small state which was conducted in 1430 by the Marquis of Mantua, Gian Francesco Gonzaga, who drew attention to the deplorable economic situation in this state and sought to find out the causes of this crisis and outline measures to combat it. The symptoms of the impending crisis were neither easily noticeable nor threatening. Most even the most significant politicians, merchants, bankers, and artisans, did not realize them quite clearly. However, the changes that took place in various aspects of life at the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries, which could hardly be traced in the sources, for all their fragmentariness, spoke of the advent of new times.<sup>35</sup>

*In conclusion*, it is necessary to note that the social status of peasants and popolani in Italy in the 13th–14th centuries was shaped by both internal factors and foreign policy events. Despite the weakening of serfdom, the exploitation of peasants persisted in a different form—through the lease of land from urban landowners. Patriarchal relations between peasants and landowners only masked their dependence and increased social oppression. The peasants' hopes for a better life, supported by the successes of urban movements and humanistic ideas, proved futile after strengthening the power of the "fat" townspeople. The increasing class conflict led to local uprisings, but they failed to change the structure of society. As a result, economic stagnation and social passivity engulfed the countryside, which only worsened the crisis situation, foreshadowing impending changes in the socio-economic structure of Italy.

### 5.2.3 *Reasons for the Development of Northern Italy*

Italy's political fragmentation was linked to profound differences in the social and economic structure of the individual parts of the peninsula. The south, occupied by the Kingdom of Sicily, and the central part, occupied by the Papal State, remained

<sup>34</sup> Krasnova, 1983.

<sup>35</sup> Gukovsky, 1990.

typical feudal states with robust and independent agricultural nobility which could hardly be kept in check by the serf peasantry and a few large cities with almost no developed crafts, trade and usury.<sup>36</sup> At the same time, the entire northern part of the peninsula, starting with Tuscany, was experiencing a rapid flourishing of economic life, a rapid process of disintegration of feudal relations, and the creation of new social forces in rapidly growing and strengthening cities.

One of the main reasons for the early urban development of Northern Italy, which first encompassed coastal towns and then soon spread to cities relatively far from the coast, was the Crusades, which turned Italian trade centers into transshipment and supply points. These centers bore almost no hardships associated with waging war in the East but widely benefited from these wars. The second reason for the rapid development of Northern Italian cities was the significant remnants of the ancient Roman order preserved in Italy. They led to the fact that feudal relations in Italy did not receive exhaustive and complete development, unlike in the rest of Europe.<sup>37</sup> Cities in Italy remained from Roman times, individual descendants of the Roman artisan population still lived in them, obeying the feudal baron, considered submission as a temporary humiliation, and were ready to take up arms at the first opportunity for his release. The third reason for the growth of cities was a circumstance that negatively affected the peninsula's fate. The political fragmentation of Italy quickly turned every significant city into the center of an independent state. This placed comparatively large financial resources in his hands, allowed him to pursue a policy tailored to his narrow and specific interests, and facilitated the struggle against the surrounding feudal lords and the feudal claims of such a powerful organism as the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>38</sup>

Each city had its own special reasons for growth and its own special environment. By the end of the 12th century and vividly by the beginning of the 13th century, the cities of Central and Northern Italy were far ahead of the cities of not only the backward, southern part of the peninsula but also the rest of Western Europe in their social, economic, and political development.

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<sup>36</sup> Vidari, 1874.

<sup>37</sup> Rutenburg, 1951.

<sup>38</sup> Sereni, 1972.

Otto of Freisingen described the social structure of Italian cities in a ready-made form. The middle and small feudal families, the so-called *valvassors*, could not resist the pressure of the new economic system: their small estates went bankrupt and money was needed to buy urban ones. They moved to a rich neighboring city without breaking with their land holdings. Here they built gloomy fortress houses equipped with tall towers and tried to find ways to compromise with the increasingly victorious urban life. They were engaged in banking, usury, trading, and trying to maintain a privileged position in the city. The rapidly growing urban economy also significantly impacted the large feudal lords—counts, margraves, and untitled large landowners. They needed money and felt the disadvantage of an economy built on serf labor. However, their great economic and political power allowed them not only to hold out longer than smaller entrepreneurs but also to wage an open struggle with neighboring urban communes, which, in some cases, were once their property. Sometimes, they built fortress houses in the city, but they spent a significant part of their time outside the hated city walls in their ancestral castles. Such, for example, were the Cavalcanti or Ubaldui families in Florence and its surroundings, with whom the commune had been fighting for centuries.<sup>79</sup>

What was happening by the middle of the 13th century among the masses of the serf peasantry of Central and Northern Italy accurately reflected the processes of weakening and sometimes disintegration of the feudal estate. Since the beginning of the 11th century, the movement of serfs for liberation has been widespread, sometimes as a genuine revolutionary struggle. Simultaneously with the revolutionary movement, economic forces were at work, hand in hand with it, destroying serfdom. Under the influence of the developing monetary economy and the growing need for money, feudal landowners themselves began to modify the forms of exploitation of their peasants: serfdom was replaced either by a lease agreement or by work on the condition that the landowner provided a part of the product—a third or a half.

If the changing economic and social situation influenced the nobility in their various forms and the serf peasantry, the cities experienced it even more. The primary process that took place in them was the rapid and decisive strengthening of trade and

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<sup>79</sup> Sereni, 1972.

craft elements, the creation of independent organizations by them, and the struggle of these organizations for political power in the city. Such organizations, uniting merchants or artisans in each city who were engaged in one business, were guilds. By the end of the 12th – beginning of the 13th century, a struggle for power in the city-commune began between associations of merchants and artisans, along with the entire urban population (*popolo*), on the one hand, and the feudal nobility of various categories (*grandees*, or *magnates*), on the other. Initially, if church representatives did not head them, cities were governed by consuls—representatives of the local nobility who extended their authority to the entire city population, regardless of social status. Later, after the end of the struggle of the city communes with Friedrich Barbarossa, the *Podestas* were at the head of the cities. They were also representatives of the nobility, who governed the entire population, relying on legislative bodies in the form of councils of various types, most often a Large Council of 200–300 members and a Small Council of 50–60 members.<sup>40</sup> But along with the official state apparatus, there was another unofficial one. This is the apparatus of the workshops, which very early passed from purely professional interests and affairs to political ones.<sup>41</sup> The union of the guilds, primarily the guilds of the wealthy merchants, sought to create a state within a state and, on occasion, to seize full power. The guild association had its own officials and councils, forming the so-called Small Commune, or the commune of the people, located within the general Large Commune and leading a fierce struggle. This struggle between Large and Small communes, or the struggle for the power of the nobility and wealthy representatives of the guilds, was the main background on which the events of the political life of the commune cities of Central and Northern Italy in the 13th century were played out.

While the rich from the workshops played an increasingly important role in the political life of these cities, they were the undisputed masters in economic life. The population of the cities grew steadily and rapidly. By the end of the 12th century the population of Milan was 90,000, and by the middle of the 13th century it had risen to 160,000 or almost doubled. Florence has grown a little less during the same time,

<sup>40</sup> Garia, 1941.

<sup>41</sup> V. Ilan, 1874.

although it is also impressive. From 70,000 people at the end of the 11th century, its population increased to 90,000 by the middle of the 13th century<sup>147</sup>. Back in the 10th and 11th centuries, most cities fit into a tight ring of old, still Roman walls, but in this limited area, there were often undeveloped areas and cultivated fields. By the 12th century, the cities began to be closely built up and grew so much that a new, many times more extensive ring of walls was needed. By the end of the century, most cities had received a new ring, and some, such as Pavia, began building a third one. However, no matter how significant the role that representatives of the feudal nobility and the general public played from the beginning of the 13th century, and then for the next two centuries, the leading figure from that time on was the figure of a wealthy citizen.

*In conclusion*, it is necessary to note that the development of Northern Italy in the 11th and 13th centuries was driven by a combination of factors, among which economic, social, and political transformations played a key role. Unlike the southern and central regions, where feudal relations and the dependence of peasants on landowners prevailed, Northern Italy experienced the active decomposition of the feudal system and the rapid growth of cities.

One of the main reasons for the rapid development of cities was their involvement in international trade, especially in connection with the Crusades. These developments turned cities into important trading centers that provided supplies and logistics, which facilitated the influx of capital and the development of crafts. An important factor was the preservation of remnants of Roman administrative and economic structures in the region, which allowed the cities to avoid strict feudal dependence and form independent governing bodies.

The political fragmentation of Italy, on the one hand, weakened the region in comparison with the centralized states of Europe, but, on the other hand, contributed to the strengthening of cities as independent political and economic units. Each commune developed according to its own scenario, fighting with feudal lords and neighboring towns. There was also a division of society within cities: representatives of trade and craft guilds gradually ousted the aristocracy from management, forming a new model of urban government.

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<sup>147</sup> Gans, 1941



By the 13th century Northern Italy had not only surpassed the southern and central regions of the peninsula in terms of development but also surpassed most cities in Western Europe in terms of economic and political indicators. The population of large centers such as Milan and Florence grew rapidly, trade and crafts flourished, and the struggle between various groups of the urban population contributed to the further formation of a unique political structure that anticipated the later republican traditions of the Italian city-states.

#### *5.2.4 Social and Political Transformations of the End of the 14th Century*

By the end of the 14th century the Apennine Peninsula was fragmented and diverse in its political composition, as it had been for many previous centuries. Its main political forces remained 6 states that determined the fate of the peninsula from the middle of the 13th century: the Kingdom of Naples, the Patrimonium of St. Peter or the Papal State, the Republic of Florence, the Duchy of Milan, the Republic of Genoa and the Republic of Venice<sup>143</sup>.

The Kingdom of Naples, which had been under the rule of the French Anjou dynasty for more than a century, in 1382, after the death of Queen Giovanna, passed to Charles Durazzo, a representative of the sideline of this dynasty, who was trying to seize the crown of Hungary, to which he had dynastic rights. The kingdom itself, the only large state on the peninsula, was quite feudal in nature: it had a strong, obstinate and rebellious landowning nobility, the vast majority of the serf peasantry, and a small number of large cities with very little developed craft and trade. This placed the country's economy under the control of the more developed centers of Italy, primarily Florence and Venice. The Patrimonium of St. Peter, which lies to the north of the Kingdom of Naples, also had a feudal character. Surrounding the vast and wealthy Rome Patrimonium was in the hands of feudal lords, representatives of the old, extremely powerful nobility: numerous branched Colonna, Orsini, Caetani, Savelli families, and smaller but no less striving for independence families of the newest formation.<sup>144</sup>

<sup>143</sup> Bernadskaya et al., 1959

<sup>144</sup> Rakitskaya, 1984

The city of Rome has been in a state of deep decline since the beginning of the 14th century, caused by the relocation of the popes to Avignon and the loss of huge revenues associated with servicing the Vatican as a result. The city tried to compensate itself by strengthening its independence and becoming a self governing commune modeled on other advanced cities in Italy. However, these attempts were met with resolute resistance from the papal legates. The attempt of the Roman notary Cola di Rienzi to make Rome the capital of a powerful secular state (from 1344 to 1354) was also short-lived and unsuccessful. In 1369, Pope Urban V moved to Rome, which he found in a miserable, ruined, and troubled state, and then returned to Avignon.<sup>143</sup> His successor Gregory XI, in 1377, fearing to lose power over the Patrimonium, finally moved to his traditional capital, which led not to pacification but to a schism in the church that began after the death of the pope in 1378.

In Tuscany, which occupies the central part of the Apennine Peninsula and is rich in many independent trade and craft towns, the rapidly growing Florence has occupied a leading position since the 13th century. It became a classic city-state, in which the struggle of the popolans against the feudal lords, that is, the grand magnates, took place. This struggle led to the complete victory of the townspeople, reflected in the "Principles of Justice" of 1293, which deprived the feudal lords of their rights in the state. After that, Florence entered a period of political, economic, and cultural prosperity, which did not lead to social peace. The struggle was already going on within the Popolan majority of the population. The rich part of this majority, or the "fat people," stubbornly sought to monopolize power and benefits in their hands, removing from them the average citizens and the poor mass, or the "skinny people." In the summer of 1378, the Ciompi uprising took place in Florence, which for several weeks turned thousands of poor workers and low-income artisans into masters of the state. The defeat of the uprising led at first to the cautious, and then increasingly violent and decisive rule of a small group of the wealthiest "fat" townspeople, from among whom several families gradually emerged—the Albizzi, the Medici—who sought to seize power into their own hands and turn this power into hereditary.<sup>144</sup>

<sup>143</sup> Bernadskaya et al., 1959.

<sup>144</sup> Rutenburg, 1961.

Since the 11th century – an important strategic and political center – the city of Milan has occupied a leading position in the northern part of the peninsula. Already in the 13th century, the Visconti family was at the head of this city and its vast possessions, increasing the power of Milan, but gradually eliminating its communal orders and traditions. At the end of the 14th century, it was ruled by the determined and cruel Bernabo Visconti, who ruled together with his brother Galeazzo II for a significant part of his life. However, in 1385, due to a palace coup, the power was seized by the son of the latter – Gian Galeazzo, whose rule brought the power of the Duchy of Milan to its peak.

The largest coastal port cities of Genoa and Venice occupied a special place on the Apennine Peninsula and throughout Western Europe. The first, constantly shaken by strife, coups, and uprisings, bringing to power the Populist masses and the nobility, has been ruled by “national abbots” since 1270. Then, after a period of domination by the nobility, from 1339 Genoa was under lifelong “doges,” who also relied on popolans. But none of these changes has led to peace in the city. However, constant internal unrest did not slow down the growth of Genoa’s economic power, which reached its most significant development by the middle of the 14th century, seizing leading positions on the Balkan Peninsula and in the Black Sea. This provoked the envy and then the rebuff of Venice and later led to the Chioggia War (1372–1381) between the two maritime republics, which ended with a clear preponderance of the “pearl of the Adriatic,” or Venice. After the Peace of Turin, Genoa entered a long period of economic and political decline. Venice, which approached the Chioggia battle with a rival with a stable and durable state structure, consolidated by the “Closure of the Grand Council” in 1297, which gave full power in the republic to a small, strictly closed group of wealthy patricians, emerged from this battle stronger and stronger than ever. It dominated the Adriatic Sea, held positions in the East, and increasingly consolidated its political and economic position on the Apennine Peninsula, becoming one of its strongest States.<sup>41</sup>

Along with the leading group of states, by the end of the 14th century, several smaller states played a significant role in the fate of Italy. These are small fortress cities that preserve significant elements of feudalism, which have been firmly captured by

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<sup>41</sup> Bernadskaya et al., 1959.

individuals, dynasties of feudal or condottieri origin since the 13th century. Urbino was ruled by Montefeltro, Rimini by Malatesta, Ferrara by d'Este, and Mantua by Gonzaga. By supplying armed detachments to one or another larger state or association of states, these small political entities often played a significant role in the peninsula's fate, becoming, at the same time, peculiar cultural centers.

*In conclusion*, it is necessary to note that, by the end of the 14th century, Italy remained politically fragmented, representing a complex mosaic of states, each with its unique socio-political structure and dynamics. The main centers of power were six large states: the Kingdom of Naples, the Papal State, the Republic of Florence, the Duchy of Milan, the Republic of Genoa, and the Republic of Venice, which determined the development of the region and formed the main vectors of its policy.

The Kingdom of Naples remained a feudal state whose economy depended on more developed trading centers such as Florence and Venice. The Papal state, although it possessed spiritual power, was in a state of internal instability due to the struggle of the feudal clans and the consequences of the Avignon captivity of the popes. On the other hand, Florence became the center of rapid social change, where the struggle between different strata of the populace determined the political landscape. The Ciompi rebellion in 1378 vividly illustrated the desire of the lower strata of society to participate in government. Eventually, it led to the establishment of power by wealthy merchant families, among which the Albizzi and the Medici stood out.

In Milan, the strengthening of the Visconti family's power was accompanied by the elimination of communal traditions and the strengthening of centralized government, which reached its peak under Gian Galeazzo Visconti. At the same time, Genoa, experiencing constant internal upheavals, maintained its economic power. Venice, emerging victorious from the Chioggia War, strengthened its position in the Adriatic and the Eastern Mediterranean, establishing an aristocratic system of government.

In addition to large states, small feudal formations such as Urbino, Rimini, Ferrara, and Mantua, which were under the rule of local dynasties, also occupied a significant place in the political life of Italy. They played an essential role in the region's military and political conflicts and became centers of cultural development.

Thus, the end of the 14th century in Italy was characterized by increased centralization of power in several states while maintaining the political fragmentation of the peninsula. Social conflicts within the republics, the struggle for power among the aristocracy and feudal lords, and rivalry between the largest maritime powers determined the political picture of the region and foreshadowed further changes in the 15th century.

### **5.3. Economic Characteristics of Renaissance Italy**

#### ***5.3.1 Workshops and Their Role in the Economy of the Country (13th and 14 Centuries)***

Trade and crafts became guild associations in the second half of the 13th century. These associations had different fractions and covered different parts of the urban population. This fragmentation grew in direct proportion to the commune's social and economic progress. Thus, in Milan, which had already embarked on the path of feudal development since the Visconti victory in 1277, partially weakened by concessions to new economic demands, the guilds began to die out. "The Credenza of St. Ambrosia," which at first united only the artisans themselves, and then from the 13th century included merchants who came from the "Mota," lost its importance. Only the merchants' association, which was too rich and influential for even the feudal Visconti to raise their hands against, continued to exist as an independent organization, from which the organization of cloth merchants emerged in 1338. Smaller merchants and artisans remained outside of precise organizational forms.

In Bologna, which was one of the first to become the scene of an acute struggle between the Popolans and the nobility, which ended in a complete victory for the former, the guild organization took shape during this struggle. In the middle of the 13th century, 70 workshops were established here. However, they were not equal to each other. Politically and economically, three workshops stood out from their midst, uniting the wealthiest, enriched, and continued to enrich popolans. This is the "Merchants" shop, which united all wholesalers who conducted extensive extra-urban trade. The shop of "Money Changers," moneylenders and bankers, was an obligatory companion and assistant to wholesalers. The workshop of "Notaries" was specific to Bologna, with the

famous law faculty of its ancient university throughout Europe. The remaining guilds, which united small merchants and artisans, existed as well-defined organizations. Still, they did not play a significant role in the political and economic destinies of the commune.<sup>43</sup>

If the workshops in Milan did not receive any noticeable development at all, and in Bologna, they stopped in this development, then in Florence they reached their maximum development. In 1250, seven senior guilds were already quite clearly organized here. This is, firstly, the *Kaunalea* workshop, which brought together merchants of foreign woollen fabrics who brought these fabrics from England or France, processed them to give them a higher quality, and then resold the finished products both inside and outside Florence. This workshop, one of the oldest in Florence, initially corresponded to the Milan and Bologna workshops of the merchants. Still then, as a result of the economic and social development of the city on the Arno, it acquired a narrower and more specific character. The second and third of the senior workshops in Florence also repeated the Bologna model. These are "Money Changers" and "Judges and Notaries," and the latter played a much smaller role in Florence than in the stronghold of jurisprudence, Bologna.<sup>44</sup> The fourth of the senior workshops was called "St. Mary's Gate." Named after the place where most of its members lived, the workshop was initially engaged in the retail sale of clothing items, primarily the most expensive and profitable silk products. However, in the second half of the 13th century it merged with another previously competing silk-making workshop. In the future, the masters of the St. Mary's Gate workshop will be engaged in manufacturing silk fabrics and selling their products. The 5th senior workshop appeared later than the others but soon took a leading position. This is the Woolworkers' workshop, which stood out from the *Kaunalea* workshop in 1212. The most productive of all the workshops and manufacturing the most widespread and universally needed products, the Woolly Men's Workshop grew and developed exceptionally rapidly, experiencing new trends most fully and radically. By the end of the 13th century, it had become even more powerful

<sup>43</sup> Reynolds et al., 1969.

<sup>44</sup> Rutenburg, 1951.

and more prosperous than the Kalimata workshop.<sup>120</sup> While maintaining the production of woollen fabrics as their primary occupation, woolworkers were also engaged in trade. They bought wool from abroad— in England, Flanders, or Spain—and transported it to Florence, conducted banking and usury operations, which at that time were inextricably linked with foreign trade. The sixth and seventh senior guilds did not play the same role in the economic life of the commune as the first five. This is the workshop of the “Doctors and Pharmacists,” which is very numerous in Florence, and the workshop of the “Fur Coats and Furrers.” Persons engaged in other types of intellectual work were often attributed to the “Doctors and Pharmacists” workshop, for example, Dante was a member of it. The “Fur Coat Makers and Furrers” shop united furrers, manufacturers of fur clothing, and fur traders and was, as it were, intermediate between the senior and middle workshops. The middle guilds were organized at the beginning of the 13th century: butchers, restless and very wealthy, who sought to secretly move to the highest category; shoemakers, blacksmiths, construction craftsmen, haberdashers, and linen clothiers. In the last years of the 13th century, nine more junior guilds took shape in connection with the adoption of the “Rules of Justice.” They sought to obtain full rights: wine merchants, innkeepers, merchants of gastronomic goods (butter, salt, cheese), tanners, gunsmiths, locksmiths, tanners, merchants of forest products, bakers, and bakers.<sup>121</sup>

The guilds played a different role in the social life of the Florentine Commune. This was explained by the profound and gradually deepening differences between the guild masters. The changes in the social and economic environment that took place in Italy affected different groups of workshops in different ways. Thus, the artisans who were part of the junior workshops fully retained the methods of doing their business inherited from their grandfathers and great-grandfathers. The wine merchant, as before, bought a certain number of barrels of wine from the surrounding peasants and sold it to consumers or owners of pubs and hotels. The innkeeper continued to run his business, maintained very relative cleanliness in his small establishment, greeted visitors, gave out linen, fed and watered them in the hotel tavern, and bought food and wine from the

<sup>120</sup> Reynolds et al., 1969.

<sup>121</sup> Skazkin, 1970-71.

same masters of the junior workshops like him. All these operations did not require large amounts of capital, as the purchases were small, and there was no need for numerous staff – a master, 2–3 students, and two servants. It has preserved the old, purely medieval guild structure and has not changed it over the centuries.

The changed social and economic situation had a slightly more significant impact on the masters of medium-sized workshops. The increase in the city's population, the expansion of the population's needs, and the need to manufacture higher-quality and more diverse products forced representatives of some trade and craft professions to significantly expand their enterprises, invest more capital in them, and attract more students. This was especially the case in the specialties that served construction. Florence grew and was built extremely quickly, so new demands were placed on builders and blacksmiths. Expanding the enterprises that were part of the middle workshops did not significantly separate them from the masters of the junior workshops. The difference remained only quantitative. In most cases, both performed as one unified group. An average workshop foreman also worked by himself, with his own hands, limited his operations to the city walls, and did not resort to large financial transactions.<sup>152</sup>

The masters in the senior workshops behaved differently: the "fat people," who increasingly resolutely and persistently sought in the second half of the 13th century to seize the reins of the commune's economic and political life. Remaining in the workshop and developing complex and strictly defined forms of management of this workshop, these craftsmen lost the main features characteristic of the workshop master of a medieval city. Connected in their trading activities with the foreign market, having huge capitals, they did not find it necessary or expedient to participate in those operations that had to be performed by a representative of the relevant specialty. The master of the Kaumara workshop stood behind the counter, selling his cloth brought from abroad; the master of the Lana workshop did not work at the loom, making pieces of cloth from English wool. He hired staff. The company's staff was numerous and diverse: agents who procured goods abroad; messengers who kept in touch with these agents,

<sup>152</sup> Rutenburg, 1941.

<sup>153</sup> Reynolds et al., 1969.



storekeepers who received incoming goods, workers of various specialties who processed these goods, sellers who brought finished products to the buyer, managers-accountants who monitored everything and kept records in accounting books.<sup>14</sup>

A major craftsman did not have time to manage all business directly. He most often became an active political figure, a member of the priory or one or two councils, a member of one or another guild management body or performed separate diplomatic assignments abroad. Such a master bore little resemblance to the guild master of the past centuries and his colleague from the junior workshop. The younger guild worker remained an artisan, and the first became a capitalist, which the renewed Italy generated.

The agrarian system of Italy in the 14th century was a direct continuation of the orders established in the 13th century; secondly, it carried several signs of beginnings. The same thing could be noted in the workshop structure of Italian commune cities. The 14th century in the history of the guild system was the period of the maximum flourishing of classical organizational forms and their final codification. For example, Doren gave a summary of the guild statutes of Florence. The statute of the "Judges and Notaries" workshop was drawn up in 1316, "Kalimala" in 1301, "Cambio" in 1299-1300, the "Woolworkers" workshop in 1317, "Silk Makers" in 1335, "Doctors and Pharmacists" in 1310, "Furriers and Fur Coat Makers" in 1385, "Myasnikov" in 1345-1346. At the same time, in 1309, an association of five senior guilds was organized: "Kalimala," "Woolworkers," "Money Changers," "Silk makers," "Judges and Notaries" – the so-called Mercantile, which received its statute and its organization and played a huge role throughout the 14th century.<sup>15</sup>

Finally, the statute of 1322-1325 and the law on the selection of priors of 1328 laid the foundations for a unified, clear organization of the Florentine guilds. The workshop, as a fully formed organization, appeared in the Florentine statutes of the 14th century in its economic, social and political form. The members of the guilds included in his lists, the so-called matriculate, could be craftsmen who had paid a certain membership fee, proved their professional skills, Florentines by birth, and did not belong to the defamatory profession of heralds, actors, gravediggers, who were not serfs or

<sup>14</sup> Skazkin, 1970-71.

<sup>15</sup> Reynolds et al., 1969.

clergy. This made the masters of the senior workshops, who were capitalist-type entrepreneurs in the 14th century, the complete and only owners and managers of the workshops. This monopolistic dominant position of the guild masters caused constant outbursts of discontent among the lower ranks of the guild, which led to the Ciompi uprising.<sup>16</sup> It was the masters who elected the governing and executive bodies of the workshop, which were numerous, extensive and consciously repeated the organizational structure of the commune.

The workshop was headed by 2 to 20 consuls. Elected from among the most respectable and well-to-do craftsmen, they controlled the fate of the workshop, were judges of its affairs, and represented it in the general political bodies of the commune, being at the same time representatives of both the workshop and the communal administration. It was this merger in the hands of a relatively small group of wealthy guild masters of power in their workshop and the commune that ensured the rule of the "fat people." Maintaining this dominance was one of the main concerns of its representatives. Councils elected by the masters served as an advisory body to the consuls: there were two Large and Small workshops in the senior workshops and one in the junior workshops. In the workshops closest to the capitalist path of development, which had many non-shop workers and employees, there was also an elected nonresident official who had at his disposal a large and well-armed squad of shop police officers. This foreign official had the main task of preserving social order in the workshop, fighting against all attempts to unite workers, and demonstrating social protest. Therefore, he became the object of hatred of the entire working class.

The treasurer and notary of the workshop played a technical and vital role in the workshop management. The first one conducted all the business records of the workshop, and the second was its secretary, who drafted legislative acts. In addition, the workshop had a large staff of various employees: messengers, accountants, and broker-sandals. The latter were important in senior workshops engaged in extensive international trade. The guild organization, ensuring the interests of the craftsmen in the commune, held all aspects of guild activity in its hands. She ensured the monopoly of the workshop members in a given branch of trade or production by forcibly including

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<sup>16</sup> Rakitskaya, 1984.

all those involved in them in the workshop, kept the masses of workers in subjection, and strictly monitored the quality of the workshop products, the observance of a "fair price" and the uniformity of weights and measures.

The situation that existed in Florence was repeated with some changes and with some detail in other developed commune cities. However, in many other cities that followed their path of social and economic development, the position of the workshops changed more or less radically during the same 14th century. For example, in Venice, whose workshops never differentiated, the 14th century further restricted their rights. Already in the 13th century, all Venetian guilds were subordinate to a special governmental authority, the justiciaries, who ensured that their role was limited only to purely economic and religious activities and did not extend to the sphere of political activity. In the 14th century, this guardianship became even more intense. The guilds and those in Florence, which were decorated with the appropriate statutes, were wholly excluded from the city's political life, whose fate was decided by a small group of patricians. This was explained not only by the specifics of the Venetian political organization but also by the peculiarities of the Venetian economy. Of the workshops, the marangon shipbuilding workers' workshop was in the first place, the production of which did not allow for the capitalist degeneration that characterized the Florentine textile workshops. Large production units were formed, which were semi-governmental in nature and did not contain the prerequisites for the violent social struggle that shook Florence during the 14th century.<sup>157</sup> To an even greater extent, the same applied to other industries that served the Venetian shipbuilding industry, such as carpenters, locksmiths, and rope manufacturers.

Despite the much weaker development of the Venetian guilds and the strictest supervision of the justiciaries in Venice in the 14th century, the guilds made some attempts to interfere in the republic's political life. Especially in this regard, the Marangon workshop stood out, which raised its voice several times and then took part in Marino Faliero's attempt to carry out a coup in 1355. The Ciompi uprising, which the vigilant and well-informed Venetian rulers looked at with special attention, forced the

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<sup>157</sup> Reynolds et al., 1969.

<sup>158</sup> Luzzatto, 1929.

Venetian workshops to be further restricted, and the law of 1397 categorically forbade members of the workshops to gather without special permission from the government, depriving them of the opportunity to even think about political activity.

In cities that had lost their republican freedoms or were subordinated to larger cities, and in economically backward urban centers, these rights were even more modest, which very often led to the liquidation of the guild organization altogether. So, in Alexandria, subordinated to Milan, in 1338, a decree was published on the complete destruction of workshops, and in Milan, the statute of the end of the 14th century included a paragraph "On the prohibition of the existence of parasites," from which an exception was made only for the wealthiest and most influential organizations. The same thing happened in Pavia in 1393. In Brescia, the statute of 1313 allowed the existence of workshops.<sup>59</sup> In Cremona, Bergamo, Piacenza, Mantua, Verona, and some other cities, the guilds retained their economic prerogatives, entry into them was mandatory for every artisan, but politically, they played a negligible role.<sup>60</sup>

*In conclusion*, it is necessary to note that the guild organization in Italy of the 13th and 14th centuries was a complex and multilevel system that played a key role in the economic, social, and political life of commune cities. The development of workshops proceeded in different ways depending on the region and local peculiarities. While the guild structure gradually lost its importance in Milan, giving way to feudal development, in Bologna and especially in Florence, the guilds reached their maximum flourishing. They gained significant influence on the city administration.

Florence has demonstrated the most significant degree of organization and differentiation of workshops, dividing them into senior, middle, and junior. The senior guilds, which united the wealthiest and most influential merchants and artisans, became centers of economic power and instruments of political struggle. In turn, the masters of the middle and junior workshops continued to preserve the traditional methods of craft, without having access to significant capital and international trade.

In the 14th century, the workshops reached their most extraordinary structural complexity. Their statutes definitively fixed the internal organization, the rights and

<sup>59</sup> Atti di Padova alla fine del XIII-XIV secolo.

<sup>60</sup> Atti di Cremona del XIII-XVI secolo.

duties of members, the management system, and measures to maintain a monopoly on certain types of activities. An important role was played by the association of senior workshops—*Mercantile*, which became one of the principal organs of the urban economy and management. The guild consuls, councils, and administrative staff ensured strict control over internal processes and maintained the dominance of the wealthy “fat people” over the urban community.

One consequence of the social stratification within the workshops was the discontent on the shop floor, which eventually led to the Ciompi uprising. This event demonstrated the contradictions within the shop system. On the one hand, it promoted the development of trade crafts and urban self-government, and on the other, it consolidated inequality and served as an instrument of elite power.

Thus, the workshops of the 13th and 14th centuries became an economic and political institution that had a huge impact on the development of Italian cities. They played a significant role in shaping the economic structure, social stratification, and urban governance but also laid the foundations for future social conflicts and transformations in society. Later, with the changing economic situation and the strengthening of capitalist tendencies, the guild system began to lose its importance, giving way to new labor organizations and management forms.

### ***3.3.2 Industry of the Period of Workshops (14th and 15th Centuries)***

The enterprises of the guild masters finally outgrew the old craft framework and turned it into a manufactory. The process takes place most vividly and characteristically in the workshops of the Florentine Wool workers workshop, which has become an example of capitalist relations in Italy. Such a workshop, which already included several dozen auxiliary workers in the 13th century, turned into a complex branched structure in the 14th century. The rebirth of the workshop enterprise was associated with a corresponding change in technical production. The manufactory did not require a revolution in the tools of production, and most often used old tools bequeathed by craft technology, but its emergence is inevitably associated with the complication of the technical process, with the breakdown of processes that were previously amorphous and

performed by the same person into many smaller constituent processes.<sup>61</sup> This division of production into fractional, independent operations led to a rather significant modification of the tools of labor adapted to the differentiated needs of each individual process.

However, the main thing that characterized the manufactory which made it unlike the workshop of the classical Middle Ages, was the division of labor that necessarily followed from the division of production and the evolution of its tools, the creation of groups and categories of workers specially trained to perform only one specific operation. Instead of a universal master-apprentice, or journeyman who performed the entire complex at a particular enterprise, a part-time worker began to occupy a leading position in it, repeating only one operation all his life. In every significant enterprise—for example, a textile enterprise that is quite complex in its technical nature, the number of such part-time workers should have been quite significant. The company grew, fragmented, crowded, and acquired a new capitalist look.

The "Treatise on the production of wool," which has come down to us in the 11st of the beginning of the 15th century, described a pattern of changing various already sharply differentiated operations that were carried out partly in the workshop of a Florentine wool worker, partly outside it. From 20 to 30 such operations, each of which was performed by a specialized category of workers. It is necessary to consider a new type of enterprise in this example:

(1) Wool, imported by the merchant or the wool worker himself from England or Spain, was delivered from the city customs to the sorting workshop.

(2) There, the bales, carefully packed and bandaged, were unpacked by special representatives of the workshop, who determined their weight and grade.

(3) Special workers rolled out bales and pre-cleaned the wool.

(4) Other special workers sorted the wool, which was most often divided into three groups—fine, medium, and coarse, and tied it into separate bales according to these groups.

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<sup>61</sup> Reynolds et al., 1969

(5) The wool was thoroughly washed and immersed in vats with boiling liquid of a unique composition;

(6) It was transported to the washing facilities on the Armo, rinsed in running, cold water, and dried in the sun;

(7) The wool was transferred to the main workshop of the wool manufacturer where it was weighed and subjected to a thorough fine cleaning—workers picked out dirt, clumps, and other foreign particles from it with their hands;

(8) Other workers used small scissors to cut off the remaining nodules and pieces of skin and gave it a final uniformity;

(9) Wool was hung on unique frames, beaten out, and soaked with water;

(10) Then, soaked in vegetable oil and rolled up;

(11) Wool was combed with combs, and the long fibers were used to make worsted fabrics, and the short ones were separated;

(12) Long fibers were wound on wooden blocks and sent to the spinner, that is, they left the central workshop.

The spinner, who lived most often in the village and was associated with this workshop by a particular contract, processed the resulting wool on a spinning wheel and marked it with a certain brand, after which it returned to the workshop. Here, she was checked, registered, sheared on shearing frames, sheared, and dried, which was carried out by workers of various qualifications. After that, the finished yarn was returned to the central workshop and transferred to the weaver's workshop. He usually lived in the city and worked on a rather complicated and expensive loom, purchased with funds advanced by the wool worker. The fabric was delivered from the weaver to the central workshop, cleaned, cut, and then its final finishing began. It was performed in a series of stages, partly in small workshops of unique artisans and partly in workshops belonging to the entire workshop. These were felting, stretching, shearing, drying, carding, and coloring, which were the most challenging and responsible operations, which is why dyers occupied a particularly privileged place in the complex hierarchy of workers and artisans engaged in production. The dyed fabric was returned to the wool

worker's workshop and carefully checked. minor defects found were eliminated, and the fabric was cleaned, folded, and labeled.<sup>62</sup>

The complex structure of this production is visible from the listed steps. The raw materials and semi-finished products entered the central workshop several times, left it, moved to auxiliary workshops, and finally returned for final completion. At the same time, the auxiliary workshops ultimately retained the character of medieval artisanal production. The weaver and the dyer, who performed complex and responsible operations and worked independently, with the help of several apprentices and apprentices, were wholly subordinated to the wool worker and had few opportunities to free themselves from his power and enrich themselves. Each enterprise accumulated many subordinates to the entrepreneur or persons of different positions: artisans who retained their medieval guild character, who worked in their own workshops, artisan spinners, skilled and semi-skilled weavers, and completely unskilled workers of the central workshop. They all fulfilled the orders of the master or those who represented him.<sup>63</sup>

The technical equipment of the Florentine woolen mill was not much different in its design characteristics from that of previous centuries. The miniatures of the 14th-century Milanese lists of the Histories of the Order of the Humanitarians depicted wool production processes that largely corresponded to the description of the Florentine treatise. Already in the 13th century, textile production, and first of all Florentine woolmaking, was the most advanced, developed, technically and socially differentiated area of production, lagging behind other areas. In the 14th century, the advanced nature of textile production became even more evident. While it continued to develop, shipbuilding and metallurgy changed little. Firearms, which appeared in England and France in the 14th century, entered Italy slowly and did not make changes in production or military affairs for a long time.

*In conclusion*, it is necessary to note that the industry of Italy in the 14th and 15th centuries underwent significant changes associated with the gradual transition from traditional workshop production to manufacture. The most significant example of this

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<sup>62</sup> Reynolds et al., 1969.

<sup>63</sup> Rutenburg, 1951.



process was the development of the Florentine woolen mill, whose workshops turned into complex, multi-link enterprises with a clear division of labor.

The process of deepening specialization and division of labor has become the main factor determining the new production look. Unlike medieval craft workshops, in which one craftsman performed all the steps of creating a product, in a factory each worker specialized in a narrow area of work. This allowed for a significant increase in productivity but at the same time led to a change in the social structure of labor: old-style craftsmen gave way to hired workers who performed mechanically repetitive operations.

Technological progress during the period of the establishment of manufacturing was not revolutionary. Most of the tools remained the same, but their organization and functional purpose changed. The production process became more fragmented and consistent, which made it possible to increase the scale of production and improve its quality. At the same time, the very principle of guild organization gradually lost its former role, giving way to entrepreneurial capital, which concentrated management in the hands of a single owner or a narrow group of representatives of large-scale handicraft production.

The Florentine Treatise on Wool Production from the early 15th century demonstrates how complex the structure of textile production has become. The process of making woolen fabric included many stages, many of which were carried out outside the central workshop, which indicated the beginning of the loss of shop isolation and the strengthening of foreign economic relations. By this time, it became apparent that manufacturing, based on wage labor, was replacing the previous system based on the guild hierarchy of artisans and apprentices.

Nevertheless, despite the emergence of large enterprises with a new type of labor organization, the technical production equipment has not changed much. This is also confirmed by miniatures from the Milanese lists of the "History of the Order of the Humanitarians" of the 14th century, where the depicted methods of processing wool remain similar to those described in a Florentine treatise of the 15th century. Thus, the industry evolution in this period was primarily organizational, creating conditions for the further development of capitalist relations in Italy.

The transition from the handicraft guild system to manufacturing became a key phenomenon in the economic history of Italy in the 14th-15th centuries. Despite the preservation of many traditional elements, such as the use of old tools and the dependence of some craftsmen on shop structures, manufacturing enterprises formed a new socio-economic reality. The increased specialization of labor, the concentration of production, and the emergence of a large entrepreneur—all foreshadowed future transformations in industry, which were finally established already in the early Modern era.

### ***5.3.3 Craft in Renaissance Italy***

The disintegration of the feudal estate and the liberation of significant numbers of serfs sent thousands of people to the cities. The rapid development of trade, both by sea and land, and the closely related development of the banking and usury business created the prerequisites for using these people. The guild masters, who had accumulated huge amounts of capital in various ways, sought to expand their workshops and throw more and more goods on the market, and for this, they hired a large staff of workers who were entrusted with various auxiliary operations. A workshop of a purely workshop type, in which the master owner himself carried out the main production work with the help of only a few students and apprentices, began to turn into a workshop of a new type. The master himself hardly worked there anymore, as he was too busy with all kinds of financial transactions and general supervision of the progress of the work, which was carried out by an increasing number of hired workers, recent immigrants from the feudal estate. A classic example of this transformation was the workshops of the wool workers in Florence and many other craft towns in Central and Northern Italy. Textile production within the feudal system was everywhere leading and advanced. At the end of the 13th century, mechanization was introduced in response to a sharp increase in demand for silk, which decisively revolutionized the entire production process. In 1273, Francesco Bonifazio introduced a machine for mechanical silk spinning in Bologna, one of the centers of silk production, powered by a water wheel and replacing 400 workers. The Order of the Humanitarians played a significant role in this transformation, bringing wool production methods to most Italian cities in 1339 with

the help of many workers who specialized in the production process operations.<sup>164</sup> Textile production, primarily the manufacture of woolen fabrics, provided the most vivid example of the emergence of capitalist relations in the field of production. In the second half of the 13th century shipbuilding and metallurgy left more minor and insignificant industries aside.

Shipbuilding has received exceptional development in the seaport cities and, first of all, in Genoa and Venice. In these cities, the local government was heavily involved in production. This ensured a large scale of work and did not make it possible to switch to capitalist relations as wholly as it was in the textile industry. In Genoa, in the 13th century ships were built by an association of capitalists, each of whom contributed a certain amount and accordingly received a certain number of shares in profits. This board of owners purchased all the materials necessary for the construction of the ship, and the construction itself was carried out under the supervision of government agencies by a special master contractor. He received all the money from the entrepreneur, and then paid off from himself with numerous workers, differentiated by specialties. Skilled workers, hull builders, deck planners, and cabin builders were paid piecework or accord. The laborers received daily pay and touch. In general, the construction of the large Genoese ship was a sizeable differentiated enterprise with a single management and many workers of different specialties.<sup>165</sup>

In many ways, shipbuilding in Venice resembled the same industry in Genoa, but in it, the role of government supervision was even greater. The owners of the shares, or carats, built ships in the state arsenal, which provided them with either qualified management or any number of workers of various specialties, primarily the famous Venetian shipbuilding carpenters – marangons. The Venetian Arsenal was already one of the largest industrial enterprises in Europe at that time. Mines and related metallurgical production were also quite large enterprises. In the second half of the 13th century there were already many large metallurgical centers in southern Italy such as Tuscany and Lombardy.<sup>166</sup>

<sup>164</sup> Baklan, 1995.

<sup>165</sup> Fionova, 1971b.

<sup>166</sup> Fionova, 1971b.

The local communes closely monitored the entire ore mining, which created a unique body for this purpose – the “Three Masters Overseeing Copper Production.”<sup>60</sup> Ore mining was carried out by companies that claimed a particular area and obtained rights to it. The members of the company divided the land among themselves. Each of the participants worked on his own site with his own workers. Capital expenditures on the mine were carried out by the company as a whole, which resolved all issues by a two-thirds majority vote. The main work in the mines was performed by hired workers, day laborers or those who worked in harmony. The workers were sharply differentiated by profession, and the statute listed Bulgarioles, carbonarioles, and picconaries who received different salaries. The workers of the first two categories serviced the melting furnaces. These melting furnaces were organized by a number of neighboring companies and used in turn. The statute regulated working hours in mines and furnaces quite precisely. Workers and administrative staff had to be at the enterprise from early Monday morning to Saturday morning; the work was performed in two shifts of 12 hours each. In addition to the master specialist and the primary workers, there were also auxiliary workers in each mine. These were laborers and auxiliary administrative staff: an overseer, a supervisor, and an accountant, who were required to record in detail and daily the costs, incomes, and results of the production process, primarily the amount of ore extracted and the metal obtained from it.<sup>61</sup> This accounting served for the constant control exercised over the activities of each company by the three masters of production, and through them by the commune. The masters had with them a crowded staff of supervisors, accountants, and judges who resolved all lawsuits of entrepreneurs and workers. They monitored the safety of production at each mine, organized water pumping and fire prevention measures, determined the quality of products, and, after appropriate registration, gave permission for their sale, collected duties and taxes from entrepreneurs, and delved into every detail of production and commercial activities. The technical equipment used in the production was quite primitive and common in medieval metallurgy. The complicated, unproved organizational structure of production did not yet cause complications and the improvement of its tools at this stage, which was typical

<sup>60</sup> Potyaz, 2001.

<sup>61</sup> Fionova, 1971a.

for the manufactory. This organizational structure was a peculiar combination of guild, medieval and new, capitalist ones.

Trade—overseas and overland, and its inevitable companion, the banking and usury business—developed and were reborn in many cities and communes—Genoa, Pistoia, Lucca, Siena, and Pisa. The cities where production was more or less developed occupied a leading position throughout Italy and Western Europe. In trade, banking, the manufacture of woollen fabrics and weapons, and the acute political and social struggle against the feudal magnates, the Popolans of the leading Italian cities created a new social atmosphere<sup>109</sup>

*In conclusion*, it is necessary to note that craft in the Renaissance in Italy underwent significant changes due to the general crisis of the feudal system and the development of market relations. The liberation of the peasants and their massive influx into the cities, the expansion of trade, the development of banking and usury, and the accumulation of capital by guild craftsmen led to the transformation of handicraft production. Traditional workshop workshops based on the individual work of the master and his students began to evolve into larger enterprises with hired labor, which was a harbinger of the future manufacturing system.

The textile industry has become the most significant example of this transformation, especially in cities in Central and Northern Italy, such as Florence and Bologna. The introduction of mechanized technologies, such as Francesco Bordano's silk spinning machine, has increased productivity and reduced dependence on manual labor. The Order of the Humanitarians significantly contributed significantly to the development of handicraft production by introducing advanced wool processing methods.

Significant growth was observed in shipbuilding and metallurgy in parallel with textile production. In Genoa and Venice, shipbuilding acquired the character of a large-scale industrial production in which the state actively participated, ensuring control and organization of work. The Genoese model of financing the construction of ships through collective investments and the participation of contractors in the organization of labor demonstrated the transition to more complex economic relations. The Venetian Arsenal,

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<sup>109</sup> Bakin, 1995

one of Europe's largest enterprises, was a powerful industrial complex with numerous workers of various specialties.

Metallurgy also became an area where there was a transition from traditional handicraft production to more organized forms of capitalist enterprise. In Tuscany and Lombardy, the mining and processing of ore were controlled by local communes, which created unique bodies to regulate production. The introduction of a clear differentiation of labor, the system of daily and chord hiring, and control over the production process by the state demonstrated the complexity of the economic structure of the metallurgical industry.

Thus, the craft production of Italy in the 13th and 14th centuries was at the junction of old feudal traditions and new capitalist trends. The increased role of wage labor, the mechanization of individual industries, government regulation in strategic areas, and the concentration of capital among guild masters and merchants testified to the emerging transition to a manufacturing system. These changes laid the foundation for the further industrial development of Europe and became an essential step towards the formation of a capitalist economy.

## **5.4 Economics of Trade Relations in Renaissance Italy**

### ***5.4.1 Italian Maritime Trade in the 13th Century***

In maritime trade and other operations related to long-distance sea voyages, the form of the "marine company" or "command" developed in Genoa was used. The "company" in the simplest and earliest case consisted of two participants. One provided all the capital needed to operate—the purchase of goods, the hiring of a ship, and the payment of basic labor. In the classic case, the second member of the "company" did not contribute any capital but instead went on a dangerous voyage and performed all the operations necessary to sell the goods, give money for growth, purchase new goods, and sell them again. The profits earned from the total amount of operations were calculated after the end of the voyage and distributed among both members of the company three to one.<sup>179</sup> This simplest and earliest type of "commission" was sometimes complicated because the second partner also contributed a small share of the capital. Then his share

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<sup>179</sup> Baldini, 1962.

of the profit increased slightly. However, the main thing in such a community was that the lion's share of the profits from the operation was received by someone who was not directly involved in it: the capitalist.

Trade in the second half of the 13th century was sharply divided into maritime and land trade. In the first, Genoa and Venice occupied a dominant position. Waging a constant political and economic struggle among themselves, by the end of the 13th century both port republics had delimited spheres of influence and conducted parallel and very lively trade with the East. Genoa is firmly established in the western part of the northern coast of Africa and the Crimea, Venice – in the eastern part of the African coast and on the entire eastern coast of the Mediterranean Sea, in the archipelago, and on the shores of the Balkan Peninsula. The trading operations were conducted by small associations such as "komenda." Several associations joined together to hire a ship, often belonging to many small capitalists. Ships loaded with goods heading East were assembled into caravans, which set sail along a particular route. Each caravan, consisting of a dozen ships, carried the material interests of six hundred Venetians or Genoese.

By the end of the century – and especially by the beginning of the 14th century – the tendency to concentrate capital and enrich individual, most energetic and enterprising merchants led to a significant decrease in the number of participants in each voyage. The caravans set off in autumn or spring. At the same time, merchants who sent a specific range of goods to the East most often sold them through their agents or local merchants, bought new goods here and took them home on the same ships, completing the entire cycle within six months. The goods brought home were either shipped to European shopping malls for resale or sold to nonresident or foreign purchasers. Transshipment was more common in Genoa, located on brisk trade routes, while on-site resale was in Venice, which was the world market for oriental goods and served all European countries with them.

The East's goods were sold and purchased in major shopping centers: Constantinople, Alexandria, Beirut, Negroponte, and Damascus. The process also occurred in trading houses and foundations, where merchants stayed and carried out all commercial transactions with local, native and Italian merchants. In smaller locations,

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<sup>171</sup> Gukovsky, 1990

transactions were performed on local markets or through official sales agents—*“senzals”* with local trading firms. Sometimes, active trading operations led to the seizure of a shopping mall. Thus, the Genoese were seized and held in political subjugation in the most critical Crimean ports, and first of all, Kaffa, the Venetians—the transshipment points of Koron and Modon. In 1304, the Genoese merchant, sailor and adventurer Benedetto Zacharia received the island of Chios, and in 1307 the Venetian patrician Marco Sanudo received the islands of Naxos and Paros. The Venetian family of Dandolo dominated the island of Andros, Gisi—on the island of Tinos, and Navigaiolo—on the island of Lemnos. These merchants, patricians, navigators, and active republican members became real feudal lords in their “overseas” possessions while remaining loyal servants of their communal governments.<sup>3</sup>

When performing maritime trade operations, merchants, based on their personal benefits, tried to balance the cost of goods they exported and imported from the East as much as possible, thus generating capital turnover twice in one voyage. Wool and linen fabrics, European weapons, and, in some cases, food and slaves previously purchased in another eastern port were exported to the East. Pepper, spices, dyes, alum necessary for processing woolen fabrics, oriental silk fabrics, pearls, precious stones, sugar, salt, and slaves were imported from the East.

The turnover from the maritime trade was quite significant, expressed for each individual “company” for each voyage in thousands and tens of thousands of florins, which, taking into account the very large purchasing power of the golden florin of that time, represented a large fortune. So, the Genoese Benedetto Zachariah imported about 13 thousand cantors of alum worth 60 thousand Genoese lira per year to Genoa. At the same time, the annual budget of a wealthy merchant family at the beginning of the 14th century was 300–400 florins. Another criterion is that at the beginning of the 13th century 63 hectares of fertile land could be bought for 100 florins. Here is the general scale of maritime trade in one city. In 1274, goods worth 936,000 Genoese lira were imported and exported through the Port of Genoa, and in 1293, goods worth 3.8 million

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Rolova, 1987

Sereni, 1972



ara were imported and exported through it, which amounted to at least 600 million lira in gold terms in 1297<sup>174</sup>

The profits received from maritime trade did not exceed 30–40% per operation on average. Large profits were achieved in trading operations with new goods, whose prices were little known and, therefore, could be set relatively arbitrarily. Thus profit could increase significantly if a high risk accompanies the trading operation. In the 1250s, the Venetian merchants brothers Nicolo and Matteo Polo decided on a long journey through Constantinople, the Lower Volga region, and Tibet to China, to the court of Kublai Khan. Niccolo's son, Marco, arrived a little later on a different route. In his book, Marco Polo described in detail the trade relations with the Indians.<sup>175</sup>

Maritime trade, which was the prerogative of the port cities of Venice and Genoa, which overland Florence then joined, was inextricably linked with overland trade. During the second half of the 13th century, the cities of Lucca and Siena, as well as some Lombard centers such as Milan, Piacenza, and others, were particularly distinguished in it.

*In conclusion*, it is necessary to note that the maritime trade of Italy in the 13th century was the most crucial component of the country's economic life, which determined the development of the large port republics of Genoa and Venice. The Komenda system made it possible to distribute risks and capital between various trading participants, contributing to the intensive development of commercial activities. Genoese and Venetian merchants formed trade caravans that carried out long-distance maritime expeditions, connecting Europe with the East and providing a continuous flow of goods such as fabrics, spices, precious stones, and various luxury items.

The division of spheres of influence between Genoa and Venice consolidated their positions in the Mediterranean and the Black Sea region. Genoa established control over Crimea and some ports in North Africa, while Venice established itself in the Eastern Mediterranean, dominating cities such as Constantinople, Alexandria, and Damascus. These trading empires not only created economic alliances but also

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<sup>174</sup> Rolova, 1987.

<sup>175</sup> Sereni, 1972.

established political control over strategic territories, which helped strengthen their power.

By the end of the 13th century, there was a tendency to concentrate capital in the hands of the most influential and enterprising merchants. This has led to a reduction in the number of participants in marine expeditions, as well as to the strengthening of the role of large trading houses and agency networks. Merchants began to use the intermediary system more actively, which allowed them to speed up trade operations and increase their profitability. In addition, the trading process was accompanied by significant risks, but the high profitability of long-distance travel justified such investments.

The scale of Italy's maritime trade has reached impressive volumes. The economic indicators of the largest ports showed steady growth in turnover, and the profitability of individual transactions could exceed 30-40%. This contributed to the enrichment of individual merchant families and the development of the banking system, credit operations, and new financial instruments that ensure the stability of trade turnover.

In general, the maritime trade of the 13th century played a crucial role in establishing Italy as one of the leading economic centers of Medieval Europe. It contributed to the development of cities, the strengthening of their political influence, and the formation of new forms of commercial organization. This legacy predetermined the further evolution of the Italian economy and helped prepare the conditions for the future flourishing of trade and finance during the Renaissance.

#### **3.4.2 Overland Type of Trade**

Overland trade could be divided into two branches: international and local. Inland trade: large-scale handicrafts, and banking and usury. Another organizational form, the "Company," was the most widespread and emerged almost simultaneously. To perform operations, several craftsmen joined together for a certain period of up to 5 years, most often members of the same family or several related families. Each participant contributed a particular part of the capital and participated in a specific part of the work on the organized enterprise. At the end of the contractual period, the profits were

calculated according to the records of the accounting books, which were divided in proportion to the capital contributed and the work performed. The share of profit sharing was most often stipulated when drawing up the initial contract. After summarizing the results and distributing the profits, the participants of the "company" signed a new contract, forming a new "company" with the same or only slightly modified composition.<sup>176</sup> The fixed capital and profits of the first "company" were contributed to the capital of the second. This happened until, for specific reasons, the "company" broke up, divided into several enterprises, or was completely liquidated.

"Komenda" or "company" was the most widespread, classical form of enterprise organization, although there were many other forms besides it. Common to all of them was the association of capitalists and executives, the temporary nature of the association, and the distribution of profits according to invested capital or labor. Capital accounted for the lion's share. In this organizational form, in the second half of the 13th century, the development of trade, banking, and the craft of Italian popolans took place. At the same time, all three of these areas were closely and inextricably linked.

The second half of the 13th century became the anthem of the development of champagne fairs, which were the undisputed pan-European economic center at that time. All the major trade deals were carried out there, and new trading methods were developed. Italian Lombard merchants played a dominant role in them. They formed the most active and numerous part of the traders, bought, sold, and engaged in various kinds of financial combinations. In many locations where champagne fairs occurred, Italian merchants had their own trading yards and warehouses where they stored goods. All the Italians who traded at the fairs were a kind of community or commune that moved from place to place as the fairs moved.<sup>177</sup> The commune maintained its organization and was subordinate to its consul, who resolved conflicts between merchants, kept records of all transactions, and represented Italian merchants in all relations with local authorities. To keep in touch with the Champagne fairs, large trading cities arranged for the regular dispatch of special couriers: to the initial stage of the auction when goods were sold

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<sup>176</sup> Samarkina, 1964.

<sup>177</sup> Villary, 1874.

<sup>178</sup> Page, 1952a.

and bought and to the final stage when payments and related financial transactions were made. These couriers were tasked with handing over letters with business instructions, small shipments of goods, and sums of money necessary for payment to the relevant merchants.

On the routes between the Italian trading towns and the Champagne fairs, there was a network of hotels that had storage facilities and were directly subordinate to the guild organizations of a particular city. At the Champagne fairs, Italian merchants bought primarily raw materials for their developed handicraft production, especially wool from England and Northern France and from Spain, woolen fabrics for processing and resale, linen products from West Germany and Eastern France, lace and embroidered carpets from Flanders, leather goods and weapons from Spain, felted products from France, wines from Western and Eastern France and Spain. There they sold goods brought by the Genoese or Venetians from the East – such as Italian wool and silk fabrics, Italian weapons, wines, horses, and various kinds of luxury goods produced in large quantities in Italian cities. However, the economic activity of Italian merchants was not limited to trade relations with Champagne fairs. They were located in all points of Western Europe where trade occurred: at the courts of the French, English, and Spanish kings, princes of the German Empire, and large cities. By the end of the century, the Florentines had occupied such a unique position, displacing the Siennese, Luccanians, and Piacenses.

All overland foreign trade was carried out by associations. Companies turnover varied, but on average, they did not reach the scale of maritime trade turnover at the end of the 13th century, surpassing the latter only in terms of the speed of capital turnover. Thus, the medium-sized Siena 1 ghirni trading and banking firm, according to accounting records, invested 2,466 lire 5 soldi 4 denari in the business, a very significant sum.<sup>19</sup> The profits generated in land trade lagged behind those of sea trade, which was offset by faster capital turnover and lower risk. For example, the large Bardi company paid dividends ranging from 10% to 30% to its members in the early years of the 14th century.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Giam, 194.

<sup>20</sup> Page, 1952a.

*In conclusion*, it is necessary to note that Italy's overland trade in the 12th and 14th centuries was a complex and dynamic system that involved large international trade operations and local market connections. One of the key elements of the trade organization was the "company" or "komenda," which allowed combining capital and labor to achieve common economic benefits. This form of cooperation provided flexibility, allowing merchants to quickly adapt to changing market conditions and minimize the risks associated with trading operations.

In the second half of the 13th century, Italian merchants led the development of European trade, especially at the champagne fairs, which became the center of the continent's economic activity. These fairs acted as venues for the conclusion of large transactions and as platforms for introducing new trading methods and financial transactions. Italian merchants created a system of mobile communes under the control of consuls, which helped streamline trade and protect merchants' interests.

A network of hotels, courier services, and warehouses maintained the connection between Italian shopping malls and Western European markets. These elements of the trade infrastructure ensured a high turnover rate and efficient logistics, which was an essential factor for trade development. Italian merchants were not only active at fairs but also established trade missions at the courts of European monarchs and in major cities, expanding their influence on the economy of Western Europe.

Despite the significant development of land trade, its turnover was inferior to sea trade, which brought higher profits. However, overland trade compensated for this disadvantage due to faster capital turnover and lower risks. Italian trading companies such as Bardi and Ugoni achieved stable growth and provided their members with substantial dividends, indicating the system's high efficiency.

Italy's domestic trade developed according to the same principles as international trade, but its scale was much smaller. Forms of organization such as "company" were used in large-scale trade and small local associations, such as in the haddressing trade in Florence or chests in Genoa. This suggests that business practices developed in international trade have successfully adapted to the local economy.

Thus, Italy's overland trade in the 13th-14th centuries played an important role in the region's economic development. The development of trade organizations, the

improvement of business practices, the creation of infrastructure and the expansion of the geography of trade contributed to the strengthening of Italian merchants' position in Europe. Their influence on the economic processes of that time predetermined the further development of trade relations and financial institutions, laying the foundation for the future prosperity of the Italian city-states.

#### **5.4.3 Banking and Operations**

Any form of trade – sea or land, external or internal, has always been associated with usurious banking operations. The accumulation of significant amounts of money in the cash desks of individual companies made it natural to turn to them for financial assistance in the form of loans. The rapid and unstoppable growth of trade operations urgently required a loan, which created the possibility of such growth. The trade spread of Italian merchants throughout the known world caused the need for transfer operations since it was already risky to transport large amounts of money over long distances. The same circumstance caused constant and complex operations for exchanging one currency for another.<sup>65</sup> All these circumstances combined led to the rapid development of banking and trade in Italian cities. Initially, the Money Changers' workshop members were involved in this business. Still, over time, the development of banking operations required the attraction of such significant capital that small medieval-type money changers could not cope with them. Representatives of other trading workshops with such capital began to get involved in them.

The first significant operations of the usurious banking type were deposit operations, performed mainly with the Papal See. The Catholic Church collected tithes and other church taxes from all over Western Europe, which required the existence of a complex and extensive mechanism that operated slowly and inaccurately.<sup>67</sup> These operations could be very profitable but quite risky, as they required large sums to be invested, which returned gradually – sometimes after a year or more. It was enough for some natural or social disaster – drought, war, or succession to the throne – so that the considerable capital invested in deposits was under threat, and the company performing

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<sup>65</sup> Garin, 1941

<sup>67</sup> Garin, 1941

these operations faced disaster. The deposit operations performed in the middle and until the end of the 13th century primarily by Siena and Lucca merchants, were enormous in scale, since papal revenues from one province were expressed in tens of thousands of lire. Many firms collected these revenues from several provinces, and sometimes from several countries. Sienese firms such as Tolomei, Scotti, Piccolomini, and Buonsignori became deposit-based bankers on a pan-European scale, with representatives at champagne fairs and other countries.<sup>183</sup> Deposit transactions concerning the church almost inevitably led to duplicate transactions with secular persons. The sovereign was given a loan against a deposit of taxes or levies. Gradually, operations of this nature began to turn into loan-usurious operations. The church's teachings strictly forbade the collection of interest on loans, since money cannot and should not generate money. Still, by the end of the 13th century, merchants and bankers found enough ways to hide the usurious nature of their transactions in their ledgers and make them legal. Such loan transactions were often large in size. Thus, on the occasion of the Battle of Montaperti, the Saubertini company lent 118 thousand gold florins to its commune in 1260.

Loan and usury operations carried out concerning sovereigns and governments were performed in conjunction with the same operations in relation to individuals and smaller operations. Deposit operations were closely related to loan-usury and exchange operations. By collecting taxes and taxes in different banknotes, the company had to pay the depositor their equivalent in a single, specific coin. This allowed for extensive speculation on exchange rate differences. In 1252, Florence, which had experienced a period of rapid political, social, and economic prosperity, began minting the gold florin, a coin containing 24 carats of pure gold with an image of a Florentine lily flower on the obverse. It soon became a solid yardstick for exchange transactions for decades.<sup>184</sup> However, this critical event did not stop speculation on exchanges, which continued to be an essential source of income for money changers.

Promissory note transactions became increasingly important in the second half of the 13th century. The promissory note originated in the early years of the century. It served solely to facilitate the transfer of large sums of money from place to place, for

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<sup>183</sup> Gams, 1941.

<sup>184</sup> Rubenbug, 1987.

example, from Italian trading towns to champagne fairs. At the same time, the promissory note transaction, which initially did not imply a loan, was accompanied by a currency exchange. So, a Siennese merchant going to the fair to purchase Flemish cloth deposited a certain amount in florins with his fellow banker and received a note from him. Upon presentation, the representative or debtor of the banker at the fair had to pay the merchant the same amount, but in Tour livres. The transportation of such a note did not require any costs and was not associated with risk. The banker made money from it because of the difference in the exchange rates of the florin and the Tour livre and a specific fee for the operation itself. There was quite a significant time between depositing money in Siena and paying it at the fair. So, the purely transferable function of the bill was soon joined by a credit one. The merchant received a note with payment on credit at the fair, promising to cover this amount there at the fair by selling a specific batch of goods or otherwise. By accepting such a bill, the banker, who put the amount he was paying at specific risk, sought to receive even more excellent remuneration for his service and earned even more<sup>11</sup>. Judging by the books, these earnings did not exceed 20% per annum for a short-term loan and 30% for a long-term loan; that is, they were close to the profits earned in trading. The development of credit and promissory note transactions only began in the 13th century, but it played an increasingly important role in the economic life of Italy. It reached its classical heyday in the 14th century.

Large amounts of capital were equally used in maritime and land trade, as well as in banking and usury operations. Tens of thousands of florins, livres, and stamps passed through the hands of Italian merchants. To keep proper records of the vast amounts denominated in different currencies, calculate profits, and avoid losses, inventing a flexible and improved records system was necessary. As a result of this urgent need, an accounting department was created, a system for keeping commercial records in unique accounting books. Initially, all records were kept in one book, incoming and outgoing transactions were recorded interspersed as they were produced, and the results were summed up at specific points. Then, this method was replaced by a more advanced one. Each person or company with which transactions were conducted was assigned a specific location. Over time, however, the recording system became even

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<sup>11</sup> Rotondo, 1987.



more complicated, and instead of one, several books were created that separately kept accounts of debtors and creditors and a separate register. The same operation was often recorded in multiple places with appropriate cross-references. This is how the "Italian Double-Entry Bookkeeping" system gradually emerged, which reached its full development in the subsequent period and then spread from Italy to other countries.

The rapid flourishing of all types of economic activity brought forward, for a certain period of time, a specific company that occupied a leading position throughout Western Europe. Consider the example of the Sienese company "Big Table Buonsignori." The company originated on a family basis from members of the Buonsignori family. The first mention of her and her head, Buonsignori di Bernardo, in sources, dates back to 1203 when she participated in the operations of leasing salt mines in Grosseto, and then to 1209 when she acted as a participant in loan and exchange transactions carried out by Sienese money changers with the papal court. In the early years of its existence, the company combined trading and manufacturing operations with banking on a relatively modest scale. The company's rapid growth began in 1235 under the pontificate of Gregory IX, and it flourished especially since the 1240s when Pope Urban IV deposited with it all the central taxes of the Roman Church. At that time the company was headed by two sons of Buonsignori, who attracted outside members who contributed large amounts of capital. In the 1260s, the company reached the peak of its economic power. Dealing exclusively with banking and usury operations, primarily of a deposit nature with the Papal See, and then loan and usury operations with foreign and Italian rulers, communes, and individuals, the company had offices in Paris, London, Bologna, Rome, Pisa, and in all cities where champagne fairs took place. In the 1250s and 1260s, the "Big Buonsignoria Table," a private company founded by several merchants and money changers in the small Tuscan town of Siena, played a huge role in Western Europe's entire economic and political life. The company occupied a place that researchers compare to the place of the Rothschild banking house in the life of Western Europe at the beginning of the 19th century. In 1255 the company's management remained in the hands of his younger brother. However things have expanded. Pope Clement IV made an exception for the Buonsignori, who received

additional papal income as a deposit, finally concentrating all the financial operations of the papacy in their hands<sup>126</sup>

When Clement IV summoned Charles of Anjou to Italy and sought to finance the military action of the French prince Buonsignori along with the Florentines, financed the Pope and Charles exceptionally extensively. When his fate hung in the balance, Charles was lent 70,000 livres by Buonsignori. Having reached its peak in the late 1260s and early 1270s, when the family acted as the banker of the Guelph party throughout Europe, the Buonsignori company began to decline in the mid 1270s. The rapidly growing competition of Florentine trading and banking houses was disastrous for Sienese merchants and Buonsignori. The frequent succession of dads, who made new demands for large cash payments, burdened the firm's strained budget to the limit.<sup>127</sup>

*In conclusion*, it is necessary to note that the development of banking in Italy in the 13th-14th centuries became an integral part of the economic growth and commercial expansion of the Italian city-states. The system, initially based on the activities of money changers and moneylenders, gradually transformed into complex financial structures capable of serving both trade and government needs. Banking operations, including deposit, credit, exchange, and promissory note transactions, became the most essential tools in the economic life of Europe at that time.

The main driving force of banking development was the need to support rapidly growing trade. International trade routes required secure ways to transfer money and exchange currencies, which led to the development of promissory note transactions. Promissory notes allowed merchants to make settlements without having to transport large sums of money, reducing the risks of loss and attacks. Over time, promissory note transactions began to include credit elements, making them even more attractive to both merchants and bankers.

One of the key aspects of banking was the relationship with the Pope. See The Pope, Curia, collecting church taxes throughout Europe, needed reliable financial intermediaries to contribute to deposit operations development. However, these operations carried significant risks associated with political instability, wars, and

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<sup>126</sup> The Italian Renaissance, 1966

<sup>127</sup> Garin, 1941

economic crises. Nevertheless, thanks to such operations, individual bankers and trading houses such as the Buonsignori, Tolomei, and Piccolomini achieved significant financial success and influence.

Deposit operations have led to the development of loan-usury mechanisms. Government agencies and rulers began actively resorting to loans from banks against future tax revenues. Despite the church's official bans on usury, banking houses have found ways to circumvent these restrictions by arranging loan transactions so that they do not look like charging interest. This allowed them to make a profit and continue lending even under strict religious regulations.

In addition, banks' activities have contributed significantly to developing financial accounting and bookkeeping. The need to accurately record massive amounts, exchange transactions, and debt obligations led to the creation of a double-entry bookkeeping system, which later spread throughout Europe and became the basis of modern financial accounting.

However, along with the rapid development of banking, there was also competition between various financial centers. The Siennese and Lucca bankers, who dominated in the 13th century, gradually gave way to Florentine houses such as the Bardi, Peruzzi, and Medici, which by the 14th century had become the leading financial players in Europe. Economic instability, political crises, and financial obligations to the rulers and the Pope caused the collapse of many banking houses, including the famous "Big Buonsignori Table."

In general, banking in Italy of the 12th-14th centuries laid the foundations of the modern financial system. The introduction of promissory notes, the development of the international transfer system, the improvement of accounting, and the growth of capital-intensive operations made Italian banks the leading financial force in Medieval Europe. These achievements became the forerunner of the further development of banking in the Renaissance and Modern times, forming the foundation for the modern global financial market.

## 5.5 Conclusion

Summarizing the results of Chapter 5, it is necessary to conclude that the study of Italy's economic and social characteristics during the Renaissance (13th-15th centuries) allows us to draw some important conclusions about the specifics of the development of this region during this period. Italy was not a single state but consisted of many city states and principalities, which determined the unique path of its socio-economic and political development. In the 13th-15th centuries, the country underwent significant transformations that affected society's social structure and economic mechanisms.

In the 13th and 14th centuries, Italy was on the verge of significant changes caused by political and economic factors. The main feature of the region was the lack of centralized authority, which led to constant struggle between various political forces such as the Guelphs and the Ghibellines. The development of communes and the strengthening of their independence contributed to forming new social strata, such as popolans and significant trading dynasties.

The Italian peasantry was under challenging conditions during this period. Despite weakening feudal dependence, the agrarian population remained subject to tax pressure from the urban elite. However, the development of cities and industry contributed to the partial migration of rural populations to cities, where they joined the ranks of artisans and merchants.

Due to its geographical location and close trade relations with Europe and the East, Northern Italy has been able to adapt more quickly to the new economic realities. Powerful shopping centers such as Venice, Genoa, and Florence emerged here, which largely determined the economic development of the whole of Italy.

The end of the 14th century saw significant social and political transformations. Popular uprisings against the feudal lords and oligarchy occurred in the cities. These changes helped strengthen the power of wealthy merchant families, which later determined the vector of development of Italian city states.

The development of crafts and trade contributed to forming a new economic structure. One of the key features of this period was the creation of guild associations, which not only regulated production and quality control, but also ensured the protection

of the interests of artisans. In the 13th and 14th centuries, the guild system played a crucial role in the economy but over time it gave way to more flexible forms of production organization.

Industry during the Renaissance was characterized by a significant increase in the production of goods, especially in the textile industry. Italian cities were famous for their fabrics, leather goods, weapons, and glass. The development of manufacturing methods of production was one of the first steps towards transitioning to a capitalist economy.

Handicraft production has also changed. The increasing complexity of technological processes has led to increased specialization and improved tools, improving the quality of goods. Artisans became not only producers but also participants in trade processes, which stimulated the growth of the domestic market.

Trade played a crucial role in Italy's economic development. The country's geographical location contributed to the development of maritime trade, especially in the 13th century when Venice and Genoa became the largest centers of Mediterranean trade. These cities controlled the routes connecting Europe with the East, providing them with significant revenues.

In addition to maritime trade, land trade was actively developing. Italy became an important transit hub through which European goods passed to the eastern countries and vice versa. This contributed to infrastructure development and the construction of roads, inns, and warehouses, strengthening Italy's position in the international arena.

Banking occupied a separate place in the economic structure. Already in the 13th century, Italy had a system of financial institutions that provided trade loans, currency exchange, and investments. Italian bankers such as the Medici and Bardi families became the founders of the modern banking system, introducing innovations such as promissory notes and double-entry bookkeeping.

Thus, Italy's Renaissance became a time of intense economic and social development. Socio-political changes helped to strengthen the position of the bourgeoisie and the formation of new public institutions. Economic growth was based on developing workshops, industry, and trade, significantly improving Italian cities' material well-being. Trade and banking became powerful driving forces that gave Italy

a leading role in the international economy of that time. Due to its geographical location and active participation in trade processes, Italy has created a unique economic mode, that in many ways, anticipated the European capitalist processes of future centuries. In general, the development of Italy in the 13th-15th centuries demonstrates a complex combination of traditional and innovative elements, which made this era unique and significant for world history.

## **Chapter 6**

### **The Italian State in the Age of Enlightenment (16th–18th Centuries)**

#### **6.1 Introduction**

Chapter 6 is devoted to the study of the Italian state in the Age of Enlightenment (16th–18th centuries) highlighting the key aspects of its economic, social, and financial development. During this period, Italy was going through complex transformation processes that affected both the internal structures of individual states and their interaction with international markets and political forces in Europe.

The shifts in industry, trade, and agriculture in Italy of the 16th–18th centuries were progressive and significant on the scale of a country that went through a difficult path of free communes of the 11th–13th centuries, separate early capitalist centers of the 14th–16th centuries, feudal reaction that took place in the context of perestroika in connection with geographical discoveries that changed the pan-European and international situation. Therefore, the socio-economic shifts that have occurred in Italy should be assessed against a pan-European background.

During this era, Italy was one of the most populated countries in Western Europe. Based on data published in 1972 by Athos Belletrini, in 1500, about 14% of the Western European population (10 out of 69 million) lived in Italy, more than 14% (11.6 out of 78 million) in 1550, also more than 14% (13.3 out of 89 million) in 1600, 14.5% (11.5 out of 100 million) in 1650, about 17% (13.4 out of 115 million) in 1700, more than 10% (15.5 out of 140 million) in 1750, about 10% (18.1 out of 188 million) in 1800.<sup>58</sup> The population growth rate of Italy compared to the whole of Western Europe was relatively high. During the century, from 1650 to 1750, the population of Italy grew by 4 million people, that is, by about 36%, while the population of Europe increased by 40%. Over the next 50 years, from 1750 to 1800, the population of Italy grew by 2.6 million people, that is, by about 17%, and the population of Western Europe by about 33%. The growth rate of the pan-European population was noticeably higher than that

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<sup>58</sup> The main features, ... 1968.

of Italy. Faster demographic growth in Western Europe compared to Italy Bellettrini explained that Italy as a whole lagged behind the advanced countries, as it was limited in its ability to quickly overcome the economic and social transformation of the industrial era. He believed that only Lombardy had escaped the common fate in the 17th century.<sup>89</sup>

In the 18th century, during the Industrial Revolution in advanced Western European countries and the "Agrarian Revolution" in Italy, the rates of European population growth (in percentages) significantly outstripped Italian ones. However, they were very significant and indicative. It is known that demographic data alone do not determine the level and qualitative evolution of the economy. Still, considering this characteristic earlier, they complement the picture of Italy's development in the pre-unitary period. Considering the demographic evolution of Italy, one should not ignore the issue of the distribution of its population between cities and rural areas. In the 1740s and 1750s, 170,000 people lived in eight major cities of Tuscany, while 890,000 lived in the entire Grand Duchy of Tuscany. Thus, about 20% of the population lived in large cities, and taking into account numerous medium and small towns, at least 25%. During the 18th century, the population of large cities grew significantly.

S. Wolfe emphasized that Italy has become a primarily rural society since the beginning of the 18th century, but the city's control over the countryside has remained. The city solved the issues of grain supply, set prices, and was in charge of taxation. In this regard, Italy has preserved the historical tradition of the country of the period under review. The number of cities with a population of over 50,000 inhabitants was more significant in Italy than in any European country.<sup>90</sup> Although it lagged behind other Western European countries, this social and economic development feature played a positive role. However, the economic and financial activity of Italian cities could not bring Italy the advantages that the countries where the Industrial Revolution took place had.

The agricultural sector of the Italian economy also lagged behind, for example, the English one. Even large tenants in Northern Italy did not become English-type

<sup>89</sup> Bernadskaya et al., 1959.

<sup>90</sup> Bernadskaya et al., 1959.



agricultural entrepreneurs, because their investments were relatively insignificant. Moreover, this applied to other regions of Italy, since its agrarian development was highly diverse: the absence of a unified agricultural Italy as an independent and complete phenomenon, cut off and isolated from everything else. Capitalist relations appeared in some countries before the Industrial Revolution. In the earliest and most primitive forms, they were known to Italy and Flanders in the 14th-15th centuries and England in the 15th century. Capitalist agriculture originated in some regions of Italy centuries before the new industrial base was formed. New industry is not the whole of capitalism. The Italian specifics of the development of capitalist relations are as unique as the English Industrial Revolution. The Italian "Agrarian Revolution" of the 18th century was a progressive phenomenon related to the country's industrial development.

According to a study by Carlo Poni, the example of Bologna suggests that the curtailment of the textile industry in this region caused the "deindustrialization" and agrarianization of the urban economy. Still, the bonification of land and the expansion of rice cultivation led to the fact that "capitalism in the countryside" was related to the city's economy involved in agriculture. The entire process of transition from feudal to capitalist relations that took place in Italy in the 17th and 18th centuries, despite all the difficulties and contradictions, was the most significant phenomenon of the historical period.<sup>9</sup>

Section 6.2 examines Italy's economic state from the 16th to the 18th centuries, including its decline during the Enlightenment, general economic problems, stages of relative stabilization, and issues related to poverty, pricing policy, wages, and taxation.

Section 6.3 is devoted to the characteristics of the industrial development of the Italian states, the analysis of statistical data on the eve of the Risorgimento era, and the direction of the reorientation of industrial centers.

Section 6.4 examines Italy's agro-industrial development, including the agrarian revolutions of the 17th and 18th centuries, the evolution of land ownership, the transition to commodity agriculture, and the gradual formation of elements of the capitalist system.

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<sup>99</sup> Bernadskaya et al., 1959

Section 6.5 discusses the trade of the Italian states and analyzes foreign economic relations, trade routes, and key industries that ensure economic exchange both within the Apennine Peninsula and with other regions of Europe.

Section 6.6 is devoted to the financial policies of various Italian states, such as the Republic of Genoa, Lombardy, the Duchy of Tuscany, the Kingdom of Naples, the Papal State, and Venice. It examines the specifics of fiscal policy, the state budget, and financial institutions that determined the region's economic development.

Thus, Chapter 6 is a comprehensive study of Italy's economic and financial evolution in the Age of Enlightenment, covering the key factors contributing to its development and transformation in the context of pan-European processes.

## **6.2 Economic Characteristics of Italy of the 16th–18th Centuries**

### ***6.2.1 The Economic Decline of Enlightenment Italy***

The problem of Italy's economic decline has not yet been fully explored, and there are many controversial issues within its framework. Nevertheless, the latest data allow us to draw a reasonably reliable overall picture of the economic state of Italy in the 16th and 17th centuries. This picture was characterized by strengthening trade and financial ties with Western Europe, primarily with Spain. Genoese financiers dominated the Spanish court, and merchants from many other Italian cities occupied essential positions in Spain's domestic market and its colonies. Venice alone struggled to preserve the eastern markets and, in the second half of the 16th century, achieved the restoration of its former place in the spice trade.<sup>6</sup> She continued to dominate trade in the eastern Mediterranean region. After the decline in the first half of the 16th century, industrial production in Northern Italian cities revived noticeably in the second half of the century. Their growth in others offset the decline of traditional industries in some cities. In particular, the cloth industry flourished in Venetia.<sup>69</sup> The production of luxury goods, which were in high demand in the West, received the most significant development.

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<sup>6</sup> Andronov, 2000.

<sup>69</sup> Tretyakova, 1995.

Western markets were important as sources of raw materials for the cloth and leather industries. In the silk and new industries, they sought to use local raw materials, move enterprises to the countryside, and use technical improvements. Although this was not a rule, it served as an indicator of progressive trends. Fragmentary information about the organizational forms of production in many cities testified to the existence of early capitalist relations. Consequently, in the sixteenth century, when Italy lost its monopoly position in the European economy and was experiencing great economic difficulties, there was not so much a decline as a particular restructuring of business life. However, the successes were rather quantitative and did not mean the appearance of more or less significant qualitative changes.

The turn towards decline did not occur simultaneously. In individual cities and individual industries, signs of impending decline became noticeable in the last quarter of the 16th century. The first quarter of the 17th century was the chronological limit of Italy's economic prosperity. From a country exporting finished industrial products, Italy has become an exporter of raw materials and agricultural products. However, the decline did not mean the disappearance of industrial and commercial activity. The historical connection between the Renaissance economy and the economy of the 16th-18th centuries has been preserved, and some elements of the heritage of the past have been passed on to subsequent centuries.

### ***6.2.2 Common Problems of the Italian States***

The main difficulty of Italy's economic and political development on the eve of the Risorgimento was the absence of a single state, the heavy burden of its age-old fragmentation, and the diverse, though not devoid of standard features, contradictory evolution of several states located on the territory of the Apennine Peninsula. This situation hindered the maturation of the capitalist system in the country, hindered the radicality of the "Agrarian Revolution," and negatively affected the transition from regional to national markets and the country's industrial development. All this placed Italy in a position profoundly different from many other European countries in terms of its industrial development<sup>194</sup>

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<sup>194</sup> Rinenburg, 1980.

In Piedmont, which became the Kingdom of Sardinia in 1720, the development of industry was subordinated to the requirements of the monarchy and its bureaucratic apparatus, the tasks of providing the army and police, which maintained at a relatively high level only industries for the production of weapons and fabrics for the army, as well as luxury goods for the royal court (delicate fabrics, jewelry, furniture, porcelain, carpets, mirrors). The royal court of Naples required luxury goods, the ducal courts of Turin, Florence, and Milan, and the aristocratic republics of Genoa, Venice, and Lucca. Naturally, they all gave orders to varying degrees for the production of weapons, fabrics for the army, the construction of ships, and the construction of buildings and roads. As a rule, the enterprises that performed their tasks were far from capitalist entrepreneurship of the "pure kind." These were usually workshops under the control of the state, which was the instrument and executor of its economic policy. The guild industry changed its medieval nature, operating alongside state-owned manufactories, but its existence lasted until the 18th century. The limitations of this type of enterprise did not contribute to the growth of the labor market, which was observed only in rural areas, where the "Agrarian Revolution" processes led to the formation of large farms. Until the advent of factories with machine production, the head of the manufactories was a merchant entrepreneur. Such enterprises practiced wage labor, which in some regions was combined with work on the land, for example, spinning and weaving at home and working on their own land. Sometimes, such a combination was the only way for a worker to survive. "The rural population of our mountainous regions," the Tuscan document said, "would have completely perished without work at the Lan workshop."<sup>9</sup> Wages were extremely low and ranged from 12 soldi to 3-4 lire per day with a working day of 13-14 hours with breaks for breakfast, lunch, and dinner, at least 10 hours of actual work. Such working conditions were, for example, at the Majolica factories in Non Vicentina in 1774 and a few years later at Cozzi's in Venice, in a textile manufactory near Treviso.

### **6.2.3 The Period of Relative Economic Evolution**

Some minor changes occurred only after the Industrial Revolution in England due to the very process of industrial development. By the end of the 18th century,

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<sup>9</sup> Poryaz, 2001

relatively large enterprises had been formed, some of which began to approach the factory type of production only in terms of the number of workers employed in them. These are, for example, silk weaving industries in the lands of Bergamo, Bassano, Vicenza, and Racconigi, each of which had 100-200 workers. The Milan company of Penco and Loria had 250 workers, and 1-100 people worked in Bonanome workshops in Como. Among the large enterprises were Remondini paper mills in the Bassano lands, copper smelters in Agordo, and mines in Rio on the islands of Elba and Stilo (Calabria). There were enterprises organized by the royal authorities, for example, in San Leccio, or fairly sizeable private cloth enterprises in Piedmont, Lombardy, and the lands of Venice, which received significant privileges from the government.<sup>18</sup> Some enterprises have received financial support from the government and private individuals, such as the Ro enterprise in Milan. Mechanisms and machines of foreign manufacture appeared: Dutch ones in the cloth workshops of Prato, the English Kaye shuttle at the enterprises of Veneto.

The French conquest greatly influenced Italy's economic evolution. "although it did not bring significant innovations to the Italian production mechanism, it nevertheless formed significant elements that brought Italy closer to Europe also in the field of economics."<sup>19</sup> The influx of technical knowledge and French, English, German, and Swiss technical innovations to Italy has increased. Despite the painful aspects of this phenomenon, the continental blockade has spurred the development of certain industry types, expanded the scope, and increased the importance of domestic Italian markets. The new political system of the Napoleonic era contributed to the restructuring of the Italian economy by striking at the old feudal conditions. However, not everything new was preserved after the Restoration. While some enterprises, such as Milan Penco and Loria, suffered from new regulations and new taxes, many enterprises and entire regions rebuilt their structures in response to the new conditions. Thus, Venice suffered significant losses in the textile and glass-blowing industries but successfully operated

<sup>18</sup> Ardatovsky, 1982.

<sup>19</sup> The main features, ..., 1966.

paper mills and cloth workshops. A significant shift has taken place in metallurgy and mining.<sup>198</sup>

Noticeable shifts have also taken place in the agricultural sector of the economy where previously nascent capitalist relations have significantly intensified. The new situation, which spurred the development of agriculture, led to the expansion of the production of industrial crops, which were processed on a larger scale in industrial enterprises. The whole situation in Italy during this period required an increase in production and a new production structure: the withering away of the workshop and corporate system began. Only in the first half of the 19th century did factory-type enterprises begin to appear (cotton in Lombardy, wool in Prato, paper in Abruzzi and Terra di Lavoro)—the first sprouts of modern capitalist industry.

#### ***6.2.4 The Problem of Poverty and Pricing***

The second half of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th century were highly complex and controversial periods in the history of Italy. Increasingly deteriorating internal and external conditions hampered the successful development of the economy and contributed to the onset of feudal reaction. Having achieved great efforts and many successes, the Italian economy declined. At the same time, new forms of political structure emerged and strengthened—small territorial states headed by absolutist sovereigns.<sup>199</sup> Italy's political freedom was curtailed by almost universal foreign rule. Complex shifts also took place in the structure of Italian society. The strengthening of the feudal elements and the weakening of the bourgeois ones were combined with the ruin and impoverishment of the masses of the people with the unrestrained growth of their exploitation in a wide variety of forms. It was in the 16th and 17th centuries that the "problem of poverty" arose, forcing advanced thinkers and even the most reactionary rulers to pay attention to themselves. The working people of towns and villages have borne the brunt of the complex changes in Italy's social, economic, and political life. The workers who worked in the leading industries—in the cloth and silk industry—from dependent craftsmen who worked at home in their

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<sup>198</sup> Tretyakova, 1995.

<sup>199</sup> Vasilkov, 1973.

workshops, to hired workers, servants and day laborers, apprentices and apprentices, all those who produced material goods and were exploited by the ruling class. Small independent artisans and shopkeepers, beggars, and vagabonds can be added to these that is, people who have lost all their sources of livelihood.

Some scientists: Sella, Pullan, Tagliaferri, Cipolla studied the economic situation of workers in Milan and Venice, Padua, Verona, and other cities. They painted a picture of the hopeless existence of the masses. Concerning Florence, this issue was addressed, for example, by A. Fanfani in his work *The History of Labor in Italy of the 15th-18th centuries*.<sup>26</sup> However, Fanfani did not give a sufficiently complete picture of the conditions prevailing in this city. He considered the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries as a single period, and therefore the changes that took place in the position of the masses during this time remained undisclosed. Contemporaries unanimously characterized the situation of the masses of the Tuscan cities in the second half of the 16th century and the 17th century as extremely difficult. The Commissioner of Pistoia, Tedaldi, wrote in 1569 to the government: "The plebeians, as always and everywhere are poor, because they live on the little they earn by their daily labor, they cannot achieve much, and even if they could, their way of life does not allow it, so they are constantly in the grip of need."<sup>27</sup> The French philosopher Montaigne, who visited Pisa in 1581, was dismayed by its emptiness, and the population seemed to him very poor.<sup>28</sup> Almost every law regulating the food trade dealt with the dire needs of the population. Guild regulations described weavers and workers as poor people living in constant poverty. These words are entirely consistent with the picturesque description of the Florentine crowd, these eternally hungry, ragged wool workers, weavers, and dyers, given in the diary of the tailor Ardit. The poverty of Florence's population was also noted by the Venetian and Lucca ambassadors, the captured French military commander Fourqureux, and the Florentine historian Segni.<sup>29</sup>

The reason for this poverty lay in the specific daily living conditions of the workers. They were not always the same. Much depended on the general conjuncture of

<sup>26</sup> Vasilkov, 1973.

<sup>27</sup> Bernadskaya et al., 1959.

<sup>28</sup> Vasilkov, 1973.

economic life – political and military events, and natural disasters. However, one thing was a constant scourge of the workers – high cost. Comparing, for example, Florentine prices for wheat, land, meat, straw, building materials, and much more with the corresponding prices of other Tuscan cities showed that life in the capital was more expensive. The Venetian ambassador Priuli believed that food prices in Florence were twice as high as in other Italian cities. Montaigne noted that Florence is considered the most economically expensive city in Italy. The high cost in Florence amazed foreigners and frightened the Florentines themselves. Chroniclers and diaries recorded wheat prices almost every year. In its laws and decisions, the Government was constantly indignant about excessively high prices. It tried to combat the high cost of strict trade regulation in essential goods. It prohibited excessive accumulation of food stocks and any kind of resale, and severely punished violators of the ban on exporting grain and other foodstuffs. However, every year, and sometimes even more often, resolutions of this content clearly indicated the complete failure of this struggle.<sup>23</sup>

Price fixing was another form of struggle against high prices. It was applied by the government only to a part of the goods, and then not always. This was how the Food Magistrate set the price of meat on a weekly basis. Up to 1577, there was a regular price fixing for fish. Subsequently, they were installed only as needed. The prices of wheat, other types of grain, and bread were regulated only during periods of extreme hunger and excessive cost. There was also regulation of prices for wine and oil, but our sources do not allow us to judge whether it was regular or not. In 1534, the government also set prices for some handicrafts (shoes, clothing), but subsequently, only regular fixing prices for building materials remained.<sup>24</sup> Such a fickle price policy was explained by the fluctuating position of the authorities, who, on the one hand, sought to keep prices low. Still, on the other hand, they feared that prices that were too low would negatively affect the supply of capital.

Contemporaries were unanimous in the opinion that shopkeepers, dealers, and speculators were responsible for the high cost. The atom was constantly mentioned in government decrees. Arditu and the Venetian ambassador Priuli also considered the

<sup>23</sup> On the issue of the state – 1963.

<sup>24</sup> Bernadskaya et al., 1959.



dukes themselves, who were so zealous against grain speculators, to be the culprits. They did not neglect the wheat trade, bought it abroad, and sold it both locally and on the foreign market. Even during periods of severe grain shortages, they supplied Spain and other countries with wheat. Grain from government stocks was usually sold in Florence at market prices, no matter how high they were.<sup>25</sup> Such actions, of course could not contribute to lower prices, but they were hardly the reason for the high cost. However, the financial policy of the dukes contributed to the price increase in no small measure.

Numerous duties also increased the cost. They were the tallest at the gates of Florence. Since the duties were levied at fixed tariffs, which did not change in 1579–1607, they may partially explain the high cost, but not the price increase. However, it is necessary to consider that the number of duties and fees levied at the city gates was constantly increasing. It is hardly possible to completely deny the influence of customs policy on the increase in high prices. They had to pay for everything: for the firewood and hay that the Florentine harvested, for the fish that he fished in the vicinity and brought to Florence for his personal needs, for every cart, and for every pack animal that brought the goods. The observant Venetian ambassadors wrote: "...and finally there is not a thing brought from outside or made in Florence itself that does not have, as they say, its own 'bell'."<sup>26</sup>

The most crucial factor that caused the high cost was the recurring crop failures and frequent floods, which caused significant damage to the population of towns and villages. Up until the end of the 1550s, military operations also played a role, repeatedly devastating the Tuscan village outposts and looting of soldiers. The years of poor harvests in many parts of Italy, especially in Sicily, were fraught with serious consequences.<sup>27</sup> Since there was not enough local harvest for the needs of the Florentine population, wheat had to be brought from afar. Therefore, the grain crisis in Sicily was a crisis for all the states of the Apennine Peninsula.

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<sup>25</sup> Vasukov, 1973.

<sup>26</sup> On the issue of the state ..., 1963.

<sup>27</sup> Rutenburg, 1974.

The situation could have influenced the increase in meat prices in Puglia, where cattle were imported from. Wine prices could depend on meteorological conditions or political events in Greece and Crete, where the most expensive wines came from. However, the local food of each state was crucial. With the low level of technology of that time and the absence of an established single internal market, one or two lean years were enough for agriculture to fall into critical condition and prices to rise sharply. An indicator of this dependence on the harvest is the highly sharp fluctuations in the annual average and seasonal wheat prices. Thus, even in relatively prosperous years, there was no confidence in the future. It is clear why the authors of diaries and letters, chroniclers so closely monitored the weather and recorded forecasts for the harvest of the most important crops.

In the year 1539, the peasants, forced to eat grass instead of bread, left their homes and rushed to the city, where they had to beg. Nothing changed in the next two years. According to Duke Cosimo, people were dying of hunger. For example, in June 1542, the population of Florence suffered from an earthquake. In 1543, 1544 and 1547, from floods. According to estimates by Segni, an eyewitness to these events, the flood of 1547 caused 300,000 scudi damage; there were many human casualties. In 1550 and 1551, famine struck the city again. The Siena War of 1553-1556 inflicted a new heavy blow to the city's economic life. The enemy army mercilessly plundered the rural population, destroyed crops, and stole livestock. In 1554, a terrible famine broke out. The grain was nowhere to be found. People were dying in the streets. It was said that 60,000 people died of starvation throughout the state.<sup>28</sup> The government was once again distributing bread to the impoverished capital population. The earthquake, which affected almost every home, exacerbated the disaster. The high cost remained the following year. The poor suffered especially from it. The tiny people were dying of hunger. In 1557, the city suffered from a terrible flood. Ludovico Guicciardini wrote: "It caused as much damage to food, goods, household utensils, and other things, as the defeat caused by the enemy could have caused. In 1557, 1558, and 1559, the food

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<sup>28</sup> Vasilkov, 1973.

situation remained tense. Wheat prices reached unprecedented heights, and there was a shortage of meat and other foodstuffs.<sup>309</sup>

The price increases during the famine years were natural. However, after the famine ended, prices did not fall back to their original levels. The price curve was always going up. Parenti, who specifically investigated this issue, showed that neither demographic shifts nor the level of agricultural machinery could influence the price increase.<sup>310</sup> Comparing the data on the import of precious metals to Spain with the price growth curve allowed him to conclude that the reason for the constant rise in prices in the 16th century, especially in its second half, was the depreciation of precious metals due to their influx from America.

It is unknown whether or to what extent the price increase in Europe and Italy is related to the import of overseas precious metals. It is clear that the rise in prices in the second half of the sixteenth century is one of the concrete manifestations of the "Price Revolution," which is characteristic of the whole of Europe and which began in Italy around 1550. In the century from 1570 to 1620, prices increased by more than two times. These general data were based on prices for various types of food (wheat, beans, wine, olive oil, various types of meat, eggs, cheese, sugar, pepper), raw materials, and industrial goods (firewood, coal, iron, copper, lead, wax, wool, flax, wool and linen fabrics, shoes), which increased very unevenly. The average prices over the decades have been compared. Fluctuations in wheat prices were the strongest. They jumped sharply in the 1550s and 1590s when the famine years followed one another. The highest level was reached in the last decade of the 16th century (304%), followed by a period of price declines to 70.2% of the original level. A similar upward trend in wheat prices is typical for Italy as a whole. In San Sepolcro, prices increased 7.6 times in 1520–1590, 7.75 times in Arezzo from 1541 to 1597, and 2.24 times in Como from 1512–1515 to 1597–1598. It increased 3 times in Venice from 1551–1554 to 1589–1598, by 250%.

<sup>309</sup> Rutenburg, 1974.

<sup>310</sup> On the issue of the state, 1963.  
Rutenburg, 1974.  
Ginzburg, 2000.

359%, and 337% in Udine, Bassano, and Verona throughout the 16th century, respectively.<sup>13</sup>

Wheat prices were also characterized by the sharpest fluctuations within decades and individual years. A comparison of average annual prices with market prices in individual months gives some idea of this. So, in May 1586, the best wheat cost 7 lire 7 soldi per flock. The average price for this year was 3 lira 10 soldi. In March 1591 the best wheat cost 10 lire. Subsequently, it began to be sold for 11 and 12 lira per hundred. Meanwhile, the average price in 1591 was 7 lira, 15 soldi 4 denari. The meat price curve is not far behind the wheat price curve, although their growth rate and frequency differ. In addition, the price increases for different types of meat are not the same. The price of beef rose significantly less during the famine years than the price of wheat. In the 1550s only the price of young mutton increased sharply (by 77%), the price increase for other varieties ranged from 31–34%. From the 1580s to the 1590s, the price increase for all types of meat averaged 27%. Over the previous three decades, prices for the three types of meat increased by an average of 31%, while prices for young mutton even decreased.<sup>14</sup>

In those years, when there was a shortage of livestock feed, meat prices had to rise significantly more. But this was most likely countered by a decrease in demand, as meat had to be abandoned when bread was scarce. In 1600–1610, the rise in meat prices was as rapid as in the previous decade. The restoration of the livestock slaughtered during the famine required a longer time. This also explains why, unlike most other food products, prices for which reached their highest levels in the first decade of the 17th century, prices for the cheapest meats—beef and fatty mutton—continued to rise in the second decade. The fact that in the first and second decades of the 17th century, beef prices rose more than prices for other types of meat because the restoration of cattle was a much more complex and slow process than the restoration of small livestock. Meat prices, just like wheat prices, have large seasonal fluctuations; in some months, market prices were significantly higher than the annual average. So, in February 1576, sea, and

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Sereni, 1977.

<sup>13</sup> The main features, 1968.

mutton cost 7 soldi and beef – 5 soldi. The average annual prices were 5 soldi and 6 denarii, 5 soldi and 2 denarii, 3 soldi and 3 denarii.

Cheese prices rose less than meat prices (173% and 187%), and especially little for expensive Parmigiano cheese. Cheese was a relatively expensive food product and was in less demand. However, the general nature of the curve is similar to the meat price curve, which is quite natural for a livestock product. Tuna and egg prices reached their highest levels in the first decade of the 17th century. Their growth index in the period under review was approximately equal to the meat price growth index.<sup>6</sup> The prices of beans, wine and butter increased significantly less. The decline in prices in the 1550s is striking. Crop failures and devastation caused by military actions should have affected vineyards no less than arable land. The fact that the demand for wine was decreasing in conditions of terrible famine played a role here. Braudel noted that the price of wine decreased every time bread became more expensive. A decrease in prices for other products, along with a sharp rise in the price of wheat, was also noted in the Netherlands. In the 1570s, wine was already significantly more expensive than in the 1550s. In Cremona, wine prices rose along the same curve as prices for other food products. In Lodi, they increased by 370% during the entire 16th century, that is, more than for grain. According to De Maddalena's observations in Milan, the age-old trend in wine prices was the same as for cereals, only short-term fluctuations were different. The price of beans increased significantly less than the price of wheat. So, in the 1550s, when wheat rose in price by 76% compared to the previous decade, beans increased in price by only 10%. In the 1590s, the price increase compared to the previous decade was 174% for wheat versus 52% for beans. This indicates that the beans were not a substitute for wheat. The explanation lay in the small spread of this culture in the 16th century. The widespread consumption of beans began only in the next century.

Frequent fluctuations, as well as the use of different flour qualities, gave bakers and shopkeepers the widest scope for various kinds of machinations. If we compare the prices of bread and wheat reported by Ardit, then in August 1576, when prices were

<sup>6</sup> The main features – 968

<sup>7</sup> Sereno, 1977

Ginzburg, 2000.

moderate bread cost 14% more than wheat, which corresponded to the norm. But in May 1578, when prices were high, bread was 78% more expensive. In January 1593, the Magistrate of Food stated that top-quality bread weighing 9 ounces was sold for 3 soldi and 4 denari, which meant 4 soldi and 5 denari per pound. The average price of a pound of wheat that year was 2 soldi and 10 denari. Consequently, bread was sold 56% more expensive than grain<sup>276</sup>.

*In conclusion*, it is necessary to note that the problem of poverty and pricing in Italy in the 16th and 17th centuries is an important topic for historical analysis, as it affects the main aspects of the social and economic development of the country during this period. The second half of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th century were characterized by complex processes that led to an increase in feudal reaction, a deterioration in the economic situation of the masses, and their massive impoverishment. Italian society was undergoing significant changes, accompanied by increased exploitation of workers, political instability, and foreign rule.

Poverty in Italy during that era was caused by many factors, including structural changes in the economy, increased tax burden, low wages, and rising prices for essential goods. Workers employed in leading industries such as cloth-making and silk-weaving, as well as small artisans, shopkeepers, and farmhands, were in an extremely difficult situation. The testimonies of contemporaries, such as chroniclers' notes and official reports, give a picture of widespread poverty that has engulfed broad segments of the population.

High cost was one of the key factors of poverty. Studies of Florentine prices showed that food and basic necessities were significantly higher than in other Italian cities. High prices for grain, meat, building materials, and even fuel made life extremely difficult for workers. The authorities tried to combat this phenomenon by strictly regulating trade, prohibiting the accumulation of food stocks, restricting exports, and fixing prices for certain goods. However, these measures did not bring the expected results, as the authorities simultaneously pursued fiscal interests, burdening trade with numerous duties and taxes.

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<sup>276</sup> The main features... 1968

In addition to economic factors, natural disasters, and military conflicts played an essential role in increasing poverty. Crop failures, floods, earthquakes, and wars not only destroyed the economy but also led to mass starvation. Many peasants and artisans having lost their means of livelihood, became poor and joined the ranks of the urban lumpenproletariat. During such periods, food prices rose sharply, further worsening the situation of the poor.

A special place in the economic history of Italy of the 16th and 17th centuries is occupied by the so-called "price revolution" – a long process of increasing the cost of goods and services associated, among other things, with the influx of precious metals from America. The depreciation of silver and gold led to inflation, which affected primarily the most vulnerable segments of the population. Research shows that prices for food, raw materials, and manufactured goods have more than doubled in a century with the most significant price fluctuations observed for grain products. The situation became especially difficult at the end of the 16th century when a sharp rise in wheat prices led to a deterioration in the situation of even those segments of the population who previously could afford a minimum comfortable standard of living.

Thus, the problem of poverty and pricing in Italy in the 16th and 17th centuries was multifaceted and caused by a complex of interrelated factors. Internal instability, price fluctuations, fiscal policy, crop failures, and wars have increased poverty, making life difficult and unpredictable for ordinary people. Despite attempts by the authorities to regulate prices and provide food to the population, these measures did not improve the situation. In the end, poverty became an integral part of Italy's social and economic structure at that time, defining the features of its further development.

#### ***6.2.5 Italian Wage Policy***

The establishment of actual wages at that time was a very difficult matter because the forms of payment were different: time-based and piecework, only in cash or in cash and kind. In addition, wages also fluctuated seasonally, and workers could have additional earnings for various services and tips. Accounting for the widespread in-kind form of payment is particularly difficult. Workers and craftsmen in the textile industry often received wages not in money but in kind. During government construction work,

workers were often given bread and wine. The custom of paying in kind had a long tradition and was widespread throughout Italy. So, in Pavia in the 17th century the wine given to masons and agricultural workers amounted to 20% of nominal wages in Milan—15–18%. In Como, grub accounted for 40% of the wages of agricultural workers. Wages in Lucca and Venice were also mixed. The mixed form of wage labor was characteristic of the entire era of feudalism as a whole and remained in Europe until the establishment of factory production.

Wage growth throughout the sixteenth century was a well-known phenomenon throughout Europe. According to available data, the wages of masons increased by 212.8% in Venice from 1551–1565 to 1606–1626, and construction workers—by 187.7%. In Naples, the average salary doubled during the same period. In Venice, construction workers received between 62.6% and 72.3% of the bricklayers' wages. In the Venetian arsenal, workers' salary was 38–40% of the salary of craftsmen, in Milan in the 17th century—44%, in France in the 15th century, and Spain in the 16th century—50%. In fifteenth-century Florence, the wage gap between skilled and unskilled labor was even more significant than in the sixteenth century (41.7% of <sup>10</sup>). Only since 1558 have workers' wages increased more than those of craftsmen. Subsequently, the latter increased more rapidly. In fact, the gap between the salaries of masons and construction workers between 1558 and the end of the century was significant, as workers were often paid less than the norm. At the turn of two centuries, the wages of construction workers increased significantly less, so that they amounted to only 46.7% of the salaries of skilled craftsmen. This could be explained by the difficulties experienced by the Florentine economy, especially the textile industry, which caused unemployment and increased the number of unskilled laborers. At the same time, due to the expansion of construction, the demand for qualified bricklayers has increased.

The available information can be supplemented with data on the wages of weavers and warblers. According to the records of the accounting books of the Medici company, in 1518–1551 a wool weaver received an average of 1 lira, 1 soldo and 4 denari per day. In 1556–1558, in the same company, the average earnings of a weaver was 1 lira 4 soldo per day. The calculations are very approximate, but if we add to that

<sup>10</sup> The main features, ..., 1968.



in June 1535–4 weavers had an average of one week 1 lira 5 soldi and 9 denari; it can still be assumed that a little more than one lira per day was a regular income for a weaver. That's about the same amount as the bricklayer in charge of the work had at the time. The average daily income of a warbler was 5 soldi and 1 denari in 1548–1551. During one week in June 1534, the Medachi company's warbler had 6 soldi and 5 denari daily. Even if we assume that, at times, they received more, these are still extremely small amounts, which can only be explained by the fact that women's work was paid worse than men's. For example, in Versina, a female construction worker received 9 soldi daily, and a man 13 soldi and 4 denari<sup>20</sup>.

Comparing wages with the prices of all goods, which were the basis of Parenti's calculations, could not give an accurate picture of the economic situation of the masses. Food prices rose the most (in Pavia, food prices increased by 86.3%, and clothing prices increased by 49.6%). If we take into account the initial years 1540–1549 and the final years 1610–1619, it turns out that the decrease in real wages was very insignificant: food prices increased by 18.1% during this time, and the average wage increased by 173.2% (if we take into account the salary of flax spinners, then by 178.6%)<sup>21</sup>. The practical significance of the real wage movement is evident only when considering shorter periods and when identifying differences in this movement for specific categories of workers. Then, it becomes clear that the situation was not at all as prosperous as it might seem.

The most accurate picture was provided for the masons by comparing the period. Real wages had a constant downward trend but periodically returned to their original levels. It was at its lowest in the 1550s and 1590s. If we compare the starting and ending points of the time under consideration, we can see a slight increase in real wages. Compared to wheat prices, there is a decrease of 15%. To find out the actual salary of a construction worker, one is worth guiding by the curve of the nominal salary over the decades, given that they were often paid less than the norm. Although the primary trend in the movement of real wages of workers and bricklayers coincides, significant differences are still striking. Thus, in the 1560s and 1570s, the real wages of construction

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<sup>20</sup> Andronov, 2000.  
Serena, 1977.

workers did not reach the initial level. And in subsequent years, it continued to lag behind the price level. At the end of the time under review, it was 30% lower. Compared to wheat prices, the decrease was even more significant. The agricultural worker also had two periods of significant decline in real wages (the 1550s and the 1590s – the beginning of the 17th century). However, some of its increase, which did not reach the initial level, took place in the 1580s and 1610–1619; throughout the years, real wages decreased.

Thus, comparing the wages of these three categories of workers with food prices once again leads to the previously made conclusion about the significant difference in the position of skilled and unskilled labor. This difference is even more pronounced when comparing wages with wheat prices. The latter confirms that it was the rise in wheat prices that was the main scourge of the working masses, which caused people to starve to death even when other prices were not so high at all. Given the stability of the nominal wages of flax weavers and spinners at the beginning of the 17th century, while prices were falling, their real wages were also rising at that time. In 1621, there were so many unemployed beggars that the government needed financial support for silk weavers to expand production and provide work to impoverished weavers. Such a measure could be helpful to entrepreneurs, but it was unlikely to be able to provide significant assistance to the poor.

To clarify the issue of providing for the needs of labor, first of all, it is necessary to know how much money was needed to feed one person. Some examples present this. One widow gave breakfast to poor girls once a year at the rate of 7 soldi and 8 denari per person. According to the Gabella charter for contracts dated April 29, 1566, 50 scudi per year – that is, 19 soldi and 8 denari per day – for the nutrition of underage girls, and 40 scudi per year – that is, 15 soldi and 4 denari per day – for the nutrition of boys, were calculated from the bequeathed money. According to the law of 1593, students of the University of Pisa had to receive 50 scudi per year for meals. Around 1570, it took 8 soldi and 5 denari and 10 soldi and 3 denari to feed two categories of Tuscan sailors. In the middle of the 17th century, the average daily cost of food for one monk was 23 soldi in one monastery in Florence, 19 soldi and 2 denari in Arezzo, and 15 soldi and 4 denari in Siena. According to Fiumi's calculations, 2 pounds of bread was the average

norm for Florentines in the 30s of the 14th century. In the 18th century, this norm was considered necessary to avoid suffering from hunger. Close to this is the average wheat feed consumption in Milan (650 grams per day), Pavia (648-694 grams), Venice (690 grams), and other cities in Italy and Europe as a whole.

In conditions of financial difficulties, people should have been primarily interested in the most high-calorie and relatively cheap products. Such a product was bread. In the non-cold year 1546, a pound of wheat cost 5 denari, a liter of wine — 4 soldi and 2 denari, and beef — 3 soldi and 10 denari. In the famine of 1555, when wheat was very expensive, prices were: a pound of wheat cost 2 soldi and 1 denari, a liter of wine — 2 soldo 6 denari, a pound of beef — 3 soldi and 10 denari.

Some examples provided an idea of the cost of clothing. According to the charter of 1592, the Kalmala workshop gave some officials 8 florins per year for clothes. In the middle of the 17th century, the Florentine monastery spent 10 5 scudi per year on monks' clothes, the monastery in Arezzo — 16 scudi, and the monastery in Siena — 11 5 scudi (without shoes). The son of a wealthy widow from Jell's comedies "Basket" spent 3 scanti per month on clothes. The workers could not even dream of such sums. The rent for housing and workshops is indicated by an inventory conducted by the government in 1561. Artisans and shopkeepers usually paid from 10 to 15 scud per workshop per year. The lowest rent, extremely rare, was 2 5 scudos per year. Thus, a dealer in old iron paid 2 5 scudi, a potter — 3 scudi, a linen weaver — 3 scudi, a silk weaver — 5 5 scudi, a master of knot plucking — 4 scudi. This was obtained per month, respectively, from 1 lira 5 soldi and 1 denari to 3 lira 3 soldi and 4 denari.<sup>1</sup>

*In conclusion*, it is necessary to note that the wage policy in Italy in the 16th–18th centuries was characterized by a significant variety of forms of remuneration, including both cash payments and in-kind remuneration. The in-kind form of payment was widespread, especially in agriculture and construction, where food and wine made up a significant part of the remuneration. This approach persisted throughout the feudal period and continued to exist until the establishment of the factory system of production.

<sup>1</sup> The main features, 1968.

<sup>20</sup> The main features, 1968.

<sup>21</sup> Rurenburg, 1974.

The dynamics of wages in Italy at that time reflected the general trends observed throughout Europe. In the 16th century, nominal wages increased, but their pace did not always correspond to the increase in food prices, especially for wheat, the main food product. This led to lower real wages, especially among unskilled workers. Skilled professionals, such as bricklayers and textile craftsmen, had higher incomes, but even their earnings did not always compensate for rising prices.

The wage gap between skilled and unskilled workers was significant. Venetian construction workers, for example, received only about 40% of the masters' salaries, while in Milan, the gap was 55%. Women received significantly lower amounts for similar work, reflecting the gender pay differences typical of that time.

Economic crises and fluctuations in employment also affected wages. During periods of economic recession, such as the crises in Florence's textile industry, wages for unskilled workers declined, exacerbating poverty and unemployment. In some cases, the State took measures to support workers, for example, by providing subsidies to silk producers, but these measures proved insufficient to improve the situation of workers fundamentally.

A comparison of wages with expenditures on basic necessities demonstrates that despite nominal income growth, the real purchasing power of a significant part of the population has been declining. Wheat prices had the strongest impact on workers' standard of living, which could increase several times during periods of crop failure, leading to famine and massive social problems.

Most of the workers' income was spent on housing, clothing, and food. According to available data, in the middle of the 17th century, it took 15 to 23 soldi to feed one person per day, a significant share of the worker's earnings. The cost of renting housing and workshops was also a significant burden for artisans and shopkeepers, many of whom paid between 10 and 15 scudi per year.

Thus, wage policy in Italy in the 16th and 18th centuries reflected complex economic processes, including price fluctuations, rising unemployment, gender inequality, and significant wage differences between skilled and unskilled workers. Despite the general increase in nominal wages, the actual well-being of the population largely depended on food prices and the region's economic stability. The structural

problems associated with the low incomes of a significant part of the population persisted for several centuries, which largely predetermined further socio-economic changes in Italy

#### 6.2.6 Tax Policy

The payments to the workshops were considerable. These included, first of all, entrance fees, which were especially burdensome for those artisans whose ancestors were not members of this workshop. Thus, hostiers and mattress makers, skirt makers, dyers, and others were required to pay a sum of 50 lire upon joining the workshop. The entrance fees for the workshop masters of tanners and furrers ranged from 15 to 73 lire, and for workers who worked piecework for different craftsmen, from 5 to 15 lire. Traveling merchants of old iron, who sold wool and linen products, had to pay the workshop 1 lira and 10 soldi annually and street vendors 2 lira and 12 soldi annually. The new charter of the Porte Santa Maria workshop from 1580 introduced a fee for weavers, the minimum amount of which was 2 lire. For the first time, workers who worked in the silk industry and other industries subordinate to this workshop were subject to annual payments of 1-3 lire.<sup>22</sup> However, already in 1588 the workshop was forced to abandon this innovation, as it could not be implemented due to the poverty of the workers, riots, and skirmishes that arose everywhere among them. The weavers had to pay the workshop 5 soldi 8 denari for marking the warp before the start of work, and 1 soldo to the official, for the job, and 1 soldo more for marking the most valuable fabrics.<sup>23</sup> In addition, it was necessary to pay an additional fee, the amount of which depended on the grade, fabric, and length. The shearer had to pay the marker 1 soldo and the workshop 4 denari to mark the cloth before it was treated with water.

Violations of shop regulations were subject to highly high monetary fines. Thus, according to the decision of the Lan workshop in 1595, a spinner who violated the rules of work was fined 1 scudo, and in case of repeated violation—2 scudi. According to the law of 1570, a wool washer who took on wool for which gabella was not paid had to pay a fine of 100-500 scudi. Fines of 25, 100, and 300 scudi were not uncommon for

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<sup>22</sup> On the issue of the tax policy —, 1968.

violating the Porte Santa Maria workshop standards for weavers and other craftsmen.<sup>26</sup> Paying such sums to a worker or even a small craftsman was absolutely impossible. In addition, it should also be noted that during the period under review, fines usually increased. Thus, in the 1560s and '70s, fines for violations of weight and weight standards when selling building materials ranged from 10-50 lire, and in 1620, from 50-200 lire, not counting the recently introduced corporal punishments.

The salt gabelia was paid by compulsory salt purchases at the rate of 17 pounds per person per year. In 1551, 1 hundred of salt was worth 9 lire 12 soldi 11 denari in Florence. This means that for 0.25 pounds, you had to pay 2 lire, 8 soldi and 3 denari, and for a family, the cost of salt was 17 lire, 1 soldi and 3 denari per year. Consequently, to acquire this standard, a bricklayer had to work for 10 days, a weaver for 11 days, a construction worker for 19 days, an agricultural worker for 74 days and a warbler for more than 46 days. The population sought various ways to do without expensive government salt.<sup>27</sup>

Thus, the Grand Duke's financial policy greatly increased the workers' misery. The lag in wages from rising prices, the deterioration in product quality, the narrowing of sales markets, and consequently production itself, combined with the oppressive taxation policy, led Italy, all its duchies and kingdoms to repeated impoverishment and economic depression, from which the peninsula began to emerge only at the end of the 18th century, at the end of the Renaissance. Then, it is necessary to consider separately the state of industry and agriculture in the 16th-18th centuries.

### **6.3 Characteristics of the Apennine Industry of the 16th–18th Centuries**

#### **6.3.1 Statistical Data on the Threshold of the Risorgimento**

In the field of industrial production, Italy of the 16th-18th centuries went through a period of fundamental restructuring, when workshops from medieval cells in form and content, sometimes feudal in form and early capitalist in essence, turned into auxiliary

<sup>26</sup> On the issue of the tax policy, ..., 1968.

<sup>27</sup> Rubenbug, 1974.

<sup>28</sup> On the issue of the tax policy, ..., 1968.

workshops of regional absolutist governments, losing their previously inherent political rights. It was a time of a long process of decomposition and liquidation of the workshop system, the birth of the manufacturing industry and then the factory industry. The variety of transitional industry forms of this era did not fit into the framework of formal schemes. In the middle of the 17th century, Milan had over a hundred competing workshops of gunsmiths, swordsmiths, and goldsmiths, entirely subordinate to the vicar or syndic representing the government's interests. Having not yet lost their guild form, they no longer bore the character of feudal corporations and began adopting government manufactories. Sometimes, these manufactories were officially subordinated to government agencies. In other cases, while maintaining their independence, they were, in fact, entirely dependent, if not on the government itself, then on the ruling circles of the state. An example of this is 17th-century Genoa. Its textile industry, which had already switched to manufacture in some sectors in the previous sixteenth century, received the powerful support of the Bank of San Giorgio from the middle of the 17th century, which directed its development through a special commission to support producers of goods, that is, workshop owners. These included, first of all, textile workshops for the production of stockings, linen fabrics, muslin, damask, silk, and others, such as bushings for weather vanes.<sup>229</sup>

The Bank of San Giorgio, by order of the members of the said commission, among whom were prominent figures of the republic Giovanni Antonio Sauli, Giovanni Granello, Giovanni Spinola, and Alessandro Grimaldi, issued large sums of money to the owners of manufactories, hosiery factories, silk workshops for the maintenance and development of their industries. Thus, on October 30, 1656, 3,665 lire 5 soldi and 6 denari were issued in silver scudo by Giacomo and Andrea Gazza on terms of 3% per annum. On November 3 of the same year, Giovanni Battista Marrapa received 1,570 lire 11 soldi and 6 denari for his stocking workshop. Giovanni Battista Sabino—for his hosiery factory on Poggia Street 262 lire 6 soldo, and then 3,500 lire. Giovanni Maria—1,680 lire for the production of the same type, two other hosiery factories received 9614 and 1,924 lire, respectively, on February 19, 1657, and the silk factory—14,206 Lire, the

<sup>229</sup> Vasukov, 1973.

third hosiery on October 12, 1658. She received 10,400 lire 14 soldi, and the silk-weaving company received 14,894 lire 11 soldi.<sup>20</sup>

Such active and large-scale financing of industry led to practical results. In 1660, the factory alone produced 60,149 lire worth of silk, linen stockings, and other textile goods. These goods provided regular trade with Spain, where Francesco Maria Palavicino, Marco Doria, Giovanni Durazzo, and other magnates sent ships with large shipments of textiles and other goods.

On November 28, 1669, 1,907 pairs of stockings worth 4,984 lire were sent to Giovanni Battista Priaroggia and Alberto Bieiato in Cadiz.

June 20, 1676—3,000 lire;

June 25, 1676—10149 lire 12 soldi.

This method of financing industry came from the government of Genoa since the Bank of San Giorgio was not only a state within a state but also "above the state." During this era, concern for the development of manufactures passed into the hands of the ruling circles, and industry was relatively centralized. This was the case not only in the Republic of Genoa but also in Tuscany, where from the end of the 15th to the beginning of the 16th centuries, the guilds served the purposes of the republican and then the regional absolutist government. During the 17th century, a change took place: in 1580-1585, it was still possible to observe the flourishing of cloth production in the Lahn system, since 1601 it was inferior to the silk production of the Seta system, which increased its power eight times, then in 1610-1620, weakened even more, retreating to the growing power of cloth production in England and the Netherlands. In 1621-1625, the central part of the profits (up to 80%) came from the textile industry and banks. In 1616-1620, investments in the textile industry, mainly the silk-weaving industry, reached 3703 thousand gold; in 1631-1635, there was a sharp decline in the market. Before 1660, there was still high activity in silk production, but even after that, in 1666-1670, investments in the textile industry reached 100,000 gold.<sup>21</sup> At the same time, as the volume of production increased, there was a significant decrease in the number of

<sup>20</sup> Rutenburg, 1980.

<sup>21</sup> The main features, 1968.



enterprises, which meant a concentration of capitalist character and a social transformation that was evident throughout Italy.

The scattered data contained in unpublished archival documents indicate a significant share of industry in various regions of Italy. So, in one of the reports on the organization, expenses, and income of the court of the Roman Curia, dating back to 1580, the active activity of the famous papal mining of alum in Tolfa was reported. In one year, alum producers received 36 5 thousand scudi. Half a century later, in a 1624 report, it was reported that in Tolfa, there were developments of alum, who were sent outside the possessions to many areas. The reports of the Spanish ambassador to Venice, Don Aloisio Lavea, to King Philip III, written in 1630, gave a reasonably reliable picture of Italy's industrial development. Linen, silk, and broadcloth were produced in Padua. The wool trade alone brought the city 600 lire or more per year. Various types of silk goods were exported to all regions of Italy, Germany, and other countries. There were silk workshops in Vicenza that produced the most valuable varieties of silk in the Venetian lands. A significant part (6 thousand scudi per year) of the city's income came from producing silk and various types of woollen fabrics. In Verona, silk production was carried out by more than 1.2 thousand people. In La Scala, for example, it brought 50,000 ducats per year. Iron and copper were mined near the Breach, producing linen fabrics. The cloth was produced in Bergamo for wall coverings; iron was mined in the Bergamo district. Of considerable importance was the harvesting of timber, which was still rich in Italy in the 17th century, and its processing for the construction of ships. Iron and copper were mined in Friuli<sup>232</sup>.

Documents dating back to 1624 contain data on the production of silks, brocades, damask, and leather goods in Genoa and the finest silks, damask, silk woven with gold and silver thread, and fine cloths of various colors in Florence. The profit from this production accounted for a considerable share of the incoming part of the Tuscan budget, which reached 186.5 thousand scudi in 1634. Iron mining was also noted in Piedmont.

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Portvaz, 2004.  
<sup>232</sup> Sereni, 1972.

Despite the shift of dominance to agriculture, industrial production did not disappear. Still, it only declined in some areas of Italy by the middle of the 17th century and in others by the 1670s and 80s. If there were up to 70 cloth workshops in Milan at the beginning of the century, by 1640 there were 15, and by 1682 there were only five. Accordingly, their production volume dropped from 15 thousand pieces to 3 thousand, and then to 100 pieces.<sup>24</sup> Similar changes took place in Cremona, Como, Genoa, and Venice, but not in all industries simultaneously and everywhere. So F. Valsecchi noted the curtailment of the silk industry at the end of the 17th century in Bologna, Florence, Lucca, Genoa, and Palermo, and at the same time, its growth in other centers, including Milan, Venice, Turin, and Como.<sup>25</sup> This did not mean that industrial and commercial activity in Italy had stopped entirely. Silk weaving has declined sharply but has not completely disappeared, and there is a production of many luxury goods and goods that meet the needs of the domestic market. Intra-market ties throughout Italy and within each state continued to exist, and they were significantly weakened. The manufacturing form of industrial production was not forgotten. It has been preserved in the largest centers of Italy, mainly in silk production and other relatively new industries. Consequently, it is impossible to speak about the absolute gap between the Renaissance economy and the economy of the 17th and 18th centuries: some elements from the heritage of the past were passed on from the 17th century to the following centuries.

*In conclusion*, statistical data related to the Risorgimento period show a complex and ambiguous picture of industrial production in Italy from the 16th to the 18th centuries. This period was characterized by the gradual disintegration of the workshop system and the emergence of manufacturing and then factory production. The transformation process took place under the significant influence of state institutions, which was reflected in the financial support of industrial enterprises from banks and the ruling circles.

Genoa's example clearly demonstrates how government agencies, notably the Bank of San Giorgio, contributed to the development of the textile industry. The loans provided allowed manufacturers to expand production, modernize workshops, and

<sup>24</sup> Rutenburg, 1980.

<sup>25</sup> Sereni, 1972.

strengthen export ties. Thus, in the middle of the 17th century, government financing reached significant proportions, and the trade turnover between Genoa and Spain confirmed the effectiveness of this economic growth model.

Other regions of Italy also played an essential role in industrial development. The documents show that the production of textiles and metal products was actively developing in Padua, Vicenza, Verona, Brescia, and other cities. In the 17th century, silk weaving became the dominant industry, while traditional cloth production began to lose ground in the face of fierce competition from England and the Netherlands.

However, the processes of centralization and concentration of capital were accompanied by a reduction in the number of enterprises, which led to social transformations. In Milan, for example, the number of cloth workshops decreased from 70 at the beginning of the 17th century to 15 by 1640 and to only 5 by 1682. Similar changes were observed in Cremona, Genoa, and Venice. Nevertheless, the industry did not disappear entirely: silk weaving and other highly profitable industries retained their importance, especially in Milan, Venice, Turin, and Como.

Thus, despite structural changes and the reduction of some industries, Italian industrial production during the Risorgimento period maintained continuity with the economy of previous centuries. Individual elements of manufacturing that originated in the Renaissance were adapted and transferred to the 18th century, providing the foundation for further economic development of the country. This confirms that the economic history of Italy during this period was not static, but represented a complex process of evolution of industrial relations and industrial management mechanisms.

### **6.3.2 Directions of Reorientation of the Centers of Industries**

The materials of the old part of the commercial fund of the Milan archive, cited in the article by Luigi Fogagnoli, help to restore the picture of economic life of the 17th and 18th centuries. The widespread formula about economic depression was fully confirmed by Cipolla's data on reducing the number of cloth workshops in 17th-century Milan.<sup>36</sup> However, cloth-making was not the only branch of the textile industry: silk making was also important, and its products were sold in foreign markets. The

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<sup>36</sup> The main features... 1968

development of cloth and silk making was hindered by the structure of industrial organization and technology based on shop rules. One can also note the active resistance of the workshops to the introduction of new silk-making "mills," despite the actions of the Milan Senate aimed at the development of manufactures and the expansion of trade. The administrative intervention of the authorities had some influence on the course of economic development, but could not be decisive. The strength and promise of early capitalist forms of production were manifested when it was relocated from large urban centers to small settlements in the Lombard lands. Therefore, the marked decline of urban industry and decreased number of workshops were not indicators of a "crisis" or "depression." Thus, in a document dated June 5, 1679, it was reported that since 1660, 30 workshops with "mills" were moved from Milan to the suburb of Varese and other settlements of the Alta Brianza land, and up to 150 "mills" appeared in small settlements.<sup>27</sup> Thus, the "crisis" of industry in Milan was balanced and overlapped by strengthening industrial production in the province. These workshops were not just based in a new location: many mills that went bankrupt were also moved to other cities, where they are now profitable.

The question arises about the advantages of new small silk growing centers far from the capital. There were no guild rules and traditions here: they were monopolists in the field of recruitment and payment of labor, which was cheaper in rural areas. No taxation was as strict as in Milan, and exporting marketable products outside the state from areas located near the borders was facilitated. Thus, in small urban and rural settlements, free manufacturing workshops were actually created that were different from the Milanese workshops, the main lever of prosperity for which was cheap labor and a significant reduction in taxes. In 1679, such "mills" appeared in 41 settlements of the Duchy of Milan, their total number reached 205, and 41 "mills" worked poorly or even ceased to exist, but 164 worked successfully.<sup>28</sup>

It is necessary to note the cheaper products in rural manufactories compared to urban silk workshops, for example, in Milan, the production of a pound of silk required the cost of 1 lira 8 soldi, and in the province—1 lira 3 soldi; a bale of silk weighing 300

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<sup>27</sup> The main features, . . . 1968.

<sup>28</sup> Sereni, 1977.

pounds cost 450 are cheaper in the province than in urban workshops. This led to a reduction in the number of silk-producing establishments in the capital of the duchy: there were 80 in 1715, 70 in 1716, and 5877 in 1738.

The process of the decline of workshop production in large cities and the growth of manufactures in rural areas took place in a struggle: the owners of raw materials and merchants demanded freedom to export raw silk to other countries and expand the import of luxury goods, and the owners of manufactures and silk manufacturers fought for the prohibition of the export of raw materials from Italy. Which one won can be judged by the data from the "Table of Silk Mills" of 1780: despite the decrease in the number of workshops in Milan itself, their total number in the duchy in the 1780s of the 18th century reached 365 (with 1,448 silk-spinning machines). The production also grew. So, in 1762, the cost of products reached: silk—10,868,974 lira 16 soldo 4 denari; grain—2,321,874 lira; cheese—1,341,211 lira 19 soldo 1 denari; linen production—880,557 lira 19 soldo 5 denari; majolica and terracotta—74,447 lira 1 soldo 4 denari.<sup>39</sup>

Luigi Fogagnoli put forward the thesis about the slow-growing process of moving away from the economy of the old feudal orders when the entire era led to a new production experience, which became a prerequisite for a new, more mature capitalist socio-economic structure, which will be one of the most essential conditions for the future unification of the country. Bondarchuk emphasized that early capitalist relations, which arose for the first time in history in industrial production in some areas in Northern and Central Italy, did not receive continuous progressive development in the 14th and 15th centuries; in the 16th century they began to weaken, and in the next, 17th century they entered a state of deep degradation or even withered away. The revival of the capitalist system in Italy as a whole began only in the middle of the 18th century.<sup>40</sup> In the 17th century they really degraded. In some centers, they withered away in the cloth industry, remaining in silk production, luxury goods production, mining, and processing industries, but did not disappear. Therefore, the revival of the capitalist system in the 18th century took place as a qualitatively new continuation of the early capitalist relations of the past centuries.

<sup>39</sup> The main features, ... 1963.

<sup>40</sup> Poryaz, 2001.

It was undoubtedly a difficult period in Italy's economic life. It was a natural consequence of progressive and significant early capitalist relations in the 14th and 15th centuries, but primitive in the 17th century, when capitalist industry successfully developed in other Western countries, surpassing the level of early capitalist relations achieved by Italy. In Italy, there was absolutely no "off-season" in economic development. However, when in the centralized countries of Europe, there was a continuous and active process of forming a bourgeois class, in Italy, this process was slow and difficult due to the decline of commercial and industrial activity.

A new capitalist industry has emerged in Italy after several decades of decline. Already in 1704, a cloth manufactory with a capital of about 300 thousand Milanese lira was founded in Milan. Although it was founded by the Swiss concessionaire Tiffen, and craftsmen from England, France, and Holland were involved in its work, the very fact of organizing such a capitalist enterprise in Italy is very significant. In 1717, Giacomo Lucuss, founded a capitalist enterprise in Tolmezzo, Veneto. Eight years later, in 1725, it had 150 machines, employing 700 weavers and 7500 spinners, who produced up to 3,000 pieces of linen and cotton fabrics per year. 60 years later, in 1784, it already had 1,000 machines and 1,500 weavers, and several thousand spinners worked on them, producing about 40,000 pieces of cloth per year, more than the entire textile industry of Tuscany in the 14th century.<sup>4</sup> The rate of increase in production can also be judged by the following fact: from 1750 to the end of the 18th century, the production of silk fabrics doubled.

In the second half of the 18th century, there was a gradual transition from manufactories to factories. So, in 1766, in Milan, the Clerici organized a cloth factory which employed about 500 workers in the city and more than 2,000 in the district. The preservation of certain features of manufacturing enterprises, such as the widespread participation of the village in production characterized this time. The factories were still very primitive in many ways: even among these 500 workers, there were homeworkers with their own machines.<sup>4</sup> Later, in the middle of the 19th century, there were dyeing enterprises that kept village weavers and spinners dependent on them, in addition to the

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<sup>4</sup> The main features. . . 1963.  
The main features. . . 1968.

skilled workers who worked for them, using their own machines. As early as 1861, along with the famous Mulgenny machines, Italian textile enterprises used spinning and weaving machines from a century ago, which gave Guido Quazza the reason to call these enterprises "machine factories," a factory with elements of manufacture. Nevertheless, in the second half of the 18th century, the number of new enterprises in Turin, Milan, Florence, and Naples increased, with 300–400 employees in each of them. In Turin alone, in 1787, there were about 18,000 hired laborers.<sup>4</sup> Businesses were also growing in rural areas. The village began to take an active part in industrial production. This was the process of expanding centralized manufacturing, known to Italy in the previous period, and forming a new capitalist way of life. In general, it is possible to establish a relatively low level of industry in the 18th century. Despite this, the development of capitalist industry in Italy, which experienced stagnation in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, was of great importance as one of the origins of the Risorgimento. Moreover, the industry was not the only sector of the Italian economy during this period, which generally passed under the sign of "organization." Trade and finance also played a significant role in the capitalist development of Italy and other European countries.

*In conclusion*, it is necessary to note that an analysis of the historical process of the reorientation of the centers of industries in Italy of the 17th and 18th centuries allows us to identify the main trends in the country's economic development during this period. The main driving force behind the changes was the transformation of early capitalist forms of production. This resulted in a gradual shift away from the guild organization of labor and increased manufacturing in rural areas.

Despite the significant reduction in the number of cloth workshops in Milan and other major cities, this did not indicate a crisis or depression, but rather a redistribution of industrial capacity. Production centers moved from the capital cities to the provinces with no strict shop restrictions, cheaper labor, and lower tax burdens. This allowed the manufacturers to respond more flexibly to economic challenges and increase production volumes.

The example of silk weaving vividly demonstrates this process. While silk spinning workshops declined in Milan at the beginning of the 18th century, their number

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<sup>4</sup> Poryaz, 2001.

grew in rural areas. By the 1780s, the total number of silk-producing enterprises reached 365, indicating the industry's active development. Cheaper production in the province due to affordable labor and lower raw material costs also helped strengthen the position of rural manufactories.

In addition to the textile industry, Italy at that time developed other industries such as mining, luxury goods processing, majolica, and terracotta production. This indicates a complex and multifaceted structure of the economy, in which the agrarian system remained an important component, but capitalist elements became increasingly noticeable. Trade and the financial sector also played an essential role in supporting industry development.

When comparing the economic processes in Italy with those of other European countries, one can note the slowness and fragmentation of capitalist development in the region. Unlike the centralized states of Western Europe where the process of forming the bourgeoisie was active, in Italy it was hampered by political fragmentation and economic decline. However, in the 18th century, the gradual restoration of capitalist relations began, which created the basis for future economic growth.

In the second half of the 18th century, the first factories appeared in Italy, representing a transitional form from manufacturing to mechanized production. Despite the primitive technical equipment and the significant participation of village artisans, these enterprises became an important milestone on the road to the Industrial Revolution. By the end of the 18th century, enterprises with hundreds and even thousands of hired workers were operating in large cities such as Milan, Turin, Florence, and Naples, indicating the expansion of centralized production.

Thus, the direction of reorientating the centers of industries in Italy in the 17th and 18th centuries was associated with a gradual shift away from workshop production, the expansion of manufactories in rural areas, and a slow transition to the factory system. These processes became the basis for the future industrialization of the country. They played an essential role in the development of the Italian economy, anticipating the events of the Risorgimento and the subsequent unification of Italy.



## 6.4 Social and Economic Development of the Italian Agro-Industrial Sector of the 16th–18th Centuries

### 6.4.1 The Agrarian Revolution on the Peninsula in the 17th–18th Centuries

The history of the Italian rural ‘landscape’ studied by E. Sereni, testifies to the difficult situation that had developed in Italy by the end of the 16th century: from 1580 to 1590, the area of uncultivated and wetlands increased in the districts of Bologna, Imola, Milan, and Piedmont; in Puglia, the territory allocated for pastures grew; in Agro Romano, By the beginning of the 17th century, only 10% of the cultivated land remained.<sup>24</sup> During the same period, there were complications in the agrarian economy of different regions of Italy, regardless of their natural social and economic differences. Aldo Sestini counted 95 distinct types of Italian ‘landscape’, which could be grouped into nine main types: Alpine, Alpine, Alpine-Padanian, Northern Apennine, Central Apennine, Tyrrhenian-Antiappennine, Southern Apennine, Sicilian-Sardinian.<sup>25</sup> Their evolution and nature, related to exploitation methods and land use, represented a complex combination of creative industrial and technical combinations and the mutual influence of nature and man. Tools of labor, methods of bonification, such as land reclamation and irrigation, the system of changing fields, and the introduction of new crops played a significant role here, that is, the technical practice that led to the “Agronomic Revolution.”<sup>26</sup>

In Italy, where there were no conditions for an industrial revolution, like in England, the general development of the economy led to new forms and directions in agriculture, a new system of land cultivation, and the strengthening of productive forces in the agricultural sector. Feudal forms of ownership were changing, bourgeois tendencies were strengthening, and a ‘National Renaissance’ took place, which Antonio Gramsci defined as a ‘Passive Revolution.’ Reforms performed from above played a significant role in this. So, in Lombardy, under Maria Theresa and Joseph II, from the 1740s to the end of the century, significant measures were taken to secularize and sell

<sup>24</sup> Sereni, 1972.

<sup>25</sup> Bundarchuk, 1980.

<sup>26</sup> On the issue of the state, 1963.

church lands. In 1759, a general cadastre of all the lands of Lombardy was compiled, and in 1776, the free sale of bread was announced. There was not only the development of agriculture in general but also the development of capitalism in agriculture. In Tuscany under Pietro Leopoldo (in the 1760s and 1790s), complete freedom of grain trade inside and outside the state, freedom of land ownership, widespread secularization and the sale of church lands, monastic orders, and the sale of ducal and communal lands were established. Significant measures were taken to reclaim Tuscan lands, primarily in the Maremma and Val di Chiana.<sup>41</sup> There was an increase in bourgeois and noble large and medium-sized properties while metayage was maintained and even expanded. In the lands of Venice, the volume of ecclesiastical land ownership was limited, grazing on private lands was prohibited, and elements of capitalism in agriculture were increasing.<sup>42</sup> Even in the Kingdom of Naples, some reforms were performed under Charles of Bourbon and his minister Tanucci. Still here the "Agrarian Revolution" was hampered by the general backwardness of the country, the dominance of the landed aristocracy, the strong positions of moneylenders, powerful clergy, and in agriculture—cattle breeding.<sup>43</sup> In feudal Sicily in the 17th century, the "Agrarian Revolution" processes were observed, and the penetration of monetary relations into the agrarian sector was increasing. The estates of the Firmatun family produced textile products that brought profit. The estates of the Belmonte family systematically kept records of fixed assets, annual profits, and interest in the exchange of money. In the farms of the Notarbartolo, Trabia, and Serradifalco families, large credit transactions were considered, and contracts were drawn up on terms of 8% per annum, which corresponded to the usual banking percentage of early capitalist enterprises.<sup>44</sup>

The relativity of the "Agrarian Revolution" affected not only the South but also other regions of Italy. The conditions of social and economic evolution, which forced representatives of regional enlightened absolutism to rebuild led Italy to a reformist path of transition from a feudal formation to a capitalist one—unlike France and England, which followed a revolutionary path.

<sup>41</sup> Rutenburg, 1974.

<sup>42</sup> Trerakova, 1994.

<sup>43</sup> Bondarchuk, 993.

<sup>44</sup> Bondarchuk, 1980.

Turning to the processes of the "Agrarian Revolution" of the 18th century, we emphasize that according to A. Rolova, the large tenants of Lombardy were "agricultural entrepreneurs" who, "partially continuing the transformations that had begun in the previous century, were engaged in cultivating uncultivated lands, draining swamps, creating artificial meadows and rice plantations."<sup>21</sup> This led to even greater dispossession of the peasants and a deterioration in their living conditions, but, on the other hand, it also created specific objective prerequisites for future capitalist development. In the second half of the 18th century, "a large capitalist entrepreneur reached a dominant position here. The village was firmly on the path of capitalist development." This was the essence of the "Agrarian Revolution" in Italy of the 18th century; its integral part was the "revolution in agricultural technology." M. F. Mard and J. Revel, who examined the forms of development of Italy's agrarian economy for four centuries, starting in the 15th century, found that even in Southern Italy, the "archaic forms of latifundia adapted to new conditions and could develop despite many economic difficulties."<sup>22</sup>

Catania expressed the social and technical results of the "Agrarian Revolution" in Lombardy in the formula: "The high level of Lombard agriculture stems from the large-scale irrigation binomial and the arbitrary class is a reflection of this binomial."<sup>23</sup> The strengthening and expansion of a new type of property – capitalist – was noted in Lombardy and other regions of Italy. Thus, in the lands of Bologna, according to R. Zangeri, there was a "decline in one of the historical forms of ownership – church farms, – and the bourgeoisie becomes the only class that increases its possessions."<sup>24</sup> Such elements of the "Agrarian Revolution" were characteristic of some other regions of Italy to varying degrees. Large-scale bourgeois property of a new type brings to the countryside an entrepreneurial spirit unknown to seigniorial property, and it generates trends that require solving new problems of technology, economics, and national policy.

The conditions in which the "Agrarian Revolution" took place were extremely heterogeneous in Italy. "Agriculture on rational grounds and predatory farming, peasant

<sup>21</sup> Rolova, 1987.

<sup>22</sup> Bondarchuk, 1980.

<sup>23</sup> Bondarchuk, 1980.

<sup>24</sup> Sereni, 1972.

farming and wage-earning enterprises, income profit, and superprofits—all this could provide capitalism with a material basis for its growth. The whole rural world tended towards capitalist accumulation.<sup>55</sup> New management methods led to tangible results: in 1735 49387 measures of wheat were harvested in the lands of Bologna, in 1783, 5 times more—252 699 measures. In Piedmont, 174 695 bags of grain were harvested in 1752–2 022,825 in 1764—about 2 million bags 4 times between 1764 and 1777 and more than 2 million bags 5 times<sup>56</sup>

A Russian researcher of this era, V. Bondarchuk, also observed “a steady increase in grain harvests—these are the indicators of the progress of Piedmontese agriculture in the 1750s and 80s. Agricultural production in Piedmont acquired a distinct commodity character due to the increased export of products and raw materials (especially silk and rice) to European countries and the expansion of domestic consumption.”<sup>57</sup> It is characteristic that “progress in Piedmontese agriculture in the second half of the 18th century was much more noticeable than in industry,” and “silk-spinning production was directly dependent on the state of agriculture.”<sup>58</sup> V. Bondarchuk observed in Piedmont “of this period the process of initial accumulation, the taking away of peasants from their plots of land and the transfer of part of rural settlements to wage labor.” This period was marked by the widespread use of large-scale leases, which caused the breakdown of the housing system on a large scale, as a result of which the capitalist way of life began to be rapidly established in the Piedmontese countryside.<sup>59</sup> Large tenants not only seized peasant and communal lands, but also used the lands of the nobles and the church, who leased their lands to them, or transferred their own farms to a wage labor system.<sup>60</sup> V. Bondarchuk considered all this as an “Agrarian revolution.”<sup>61</sup>

*In conclusion*, the agrarian revolution in Italy of the 17th and 18th centuries was a complex and heterogeneous process accompanied by significant changes in land ownership, agricultural technologies, and socio-economic structure. This period was marked by the transformation of feudal forms of ownership, the strengthening of

<sup>55</sup> Bondarchuk, 1980.

<sup>56</sup> Bondarchuk, 1980.

<sup>57</sup> Bondarchuk, 1980.

<sup>58</sup> Bondarchuk, 1980.

<sup>59</sup> Bondarchuk, 1980.

<sup>60</sup> Bondarchuk, 1980.

bourgeois tendencies, and the gradual development of capitalism in the agricultural sector

One of the key aspects of the agrarian revolution was the expansion of land exploitation through land reclamation, irrigation, and the introduction of new agrotechnical methods. An important role in this was played by large tenants who actively developed abandoned lands, drained swamps, and created new agricultural land. These processes contributed to an increase in commodity production and the growth of capitalist relations in agriculture

The reforms carried out in various regions of Italy contributed to the transition to a new system of land ownership and management. In Lombardy, under Maria Theresa and Joseph II, the secularization of church lands and the introduction of cadastral registration contributed to the strengthening of private property and the development of capitalist production. In Tuscany, under Pietro Leopoldo, measures were implemented to liberalize grain trade and secularize land, which contributed to the strengthening of the economic independence of peasants and the growth of agricultural production

However, the agrarian revolution took place unevenly across the regions of Italy. In some areas, such as the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily, feudal orders persisted, which slowed down capitalist transformations. Nevertheless, even here, monetary relations penetrated the agricultural sector, which indicated the gradual decomposition of the old forms of management

The social consequences of the agrarian revolution were mixed. On the one hand, new farming methods have contributed to increased yields and expanded commodity production, which has had a positive impact on the country's economy. On the other hand, the process of dispossessing peasants led to an increase in social tension and aggravation of class contradictions.

Thus, the agrarian revolution in Italy of the 18th century was an important stage in the transition from the feudal to the capitalist economic system. It not only contributed to the formation of new forms of ownership and economic relations but also laid the foundations for further social and economic development of the country. This process, full of contradictions and complexities, played a significant role in the preparation of the Risorgimento – the national renaissance of Italy in the 19th century

### **6.4.2 Evolution of Land Ownership**

The state of industry and trade usually characterizes the level and degree of development of a country and in the feudal era, it was not only closely related but also depended on the state of agriculture. The role of the agricultural sector was also great during the period of transition from feudalism to capitalism, from fragmentation to unification, especially in Italy in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, when the first origins of the Risorgimento began to appear. In this era, despite the significant role of industry and the strengthening of elements of capitalist relations in it, agriculture was the main branch of the economy. The peculiar evolution of the Italian agrarian economy, which was characterized by elements of early capitalist relations, ultimately contributed to the strengthening of the marketability of the entire economy: the expansion of regional markets, and interregional ties, being one of the sources of the economic basis for the further unification of the country.

Shifts in Italian agriculture became noticeable already in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. The evolution of land ownership can be considered the most important process in this regard. This problem was considered by Giovanni Cherubini, who presented a summary of materials on the evolution of land ownership in a report to a Conference of Historians in Moscow in 1977. He conditionally divided all Italian lands into two categories: "feudal" and "communal" ("bourgeois"). The former were distinguished by conditional land ownership, limited by the rights of the seigneur; the latter tended to the "modern" way of "absolute" land ownership. Cherubini considered Southern Italy, Piedmont, the Marches, Latium, and the islands to be the most characteristic "feudal" lands of Italy; "bourgeois" states such as Tuscany, where according to Panzini, in the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century only 4-3% of the population lived in "feudal" lands.<sup>281</sup> However, the ratio of "feudal" and "bourgeois" lands was different. Thus, in the Siennese territory, 14% of the population lived on "feudal" lands, where feudal jurisdiction was usually maintained. However, "feudal" lands should not be considered an unchangeable phenomenon: while maintaining their feudal legal status, they actually underwent a significant evolution towards comradeship as the lords rebuilt their farms, changing the

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<sup>281</sup> Poryaz, 2004.

nomenclature of crops according to changing market requirements. Thus, the traditionally "feudal" lands of the Kingdom of Naples, which were subordinate to the barons, legally retained their feudal status but were not always limited to traditional cultures. The feudal lords reacted sensitively to the demands of the market and increased the production of grain farming, sheep farming, winemaking on a large scale, and in certain periods, sugar and silk production, thereby responding to the demands of the international market and making large profits. In the lands of Southern Italy, in order to produce agricultural products for export, feudal lords expanded the specification of crops, which led to zoning: in addition to grain areas, areas for the production of saffron (Aquila), silk (Apulia), and garden crops (in the coastal strip and in the suburbs) were formed.<sup>262</sup>

In this regard, the lands of "communal" Italy are specific, studied using the example of the regions of Central and Northern Italy. L. Kotelnikova considered the cardinal problem of the ratio of town and village, the evolution of agrarian relations in the classic areas of "communal" Italy. The Italian village at the end of the 13th and 14th centuries followed the city. Some new elements have appeared there, transitioning to semi-capitalist relations. The Popolan townspeople partially switched to new farming methods, different from the old feudal ones. However, such farms have not yet played any significant role in Northern and Central Italy in the 13th and 14th centuries. Significant changes in the structure of feudal land ownership did not guarantee continuous development in this direction. Thus, regressive and conservative tendencies began to grow in the social structure of the Italian village of the North and Center from the second half of the 14th century and especially in the 15th century. However, they were not eternal, either and underwent significant changes during the 16th-18th centuries, while maintaining some specific aspects of development peculiar to individual regions of Italy. In contrast to the southern part of the country, mixed agricultural production was observed in the lands of Central and Northern Italy. Various crops were grown in one relatively small complex. In these areas, especially in valleys and hilly areas, there has been a significant expansion and strengthening of private land ownership, although some of these lands have returned to their former communal

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<sup>262</sup> Sibireva, 1982.

boundaries during the period of population decline. The growth of the economy and the increase in population since the middle of the 15th century have led to an increase in demand for livestock products. This, in turn, contributed not only to the expansion of cattle breeding but also to its streamlining so that by the middle of the 16th century 40% of the territory previously used for grazing was set aside for crops. By the beginning of the 17th century there was an expansion of the area of cultivated land and the drainage of wetlands, which increased the acquisition and purchase of land by private individuals. The process of area expansion was not continuous and painful. So, in the 16th century, there was from 10 to 30% of uncultivated land on the Venetian territory. From the second half of the 16th to the beginning of the 17th century there was an expansion of cultivated areas, in the second decade of the 17th century this process slowed down, and then, in the 18th century, intensified. Irrigation and land reclamation works in the lands of Bologna, Mantua, Brescia, and Ferrara played a significant role. In the Ferrara lands, these works have made it possible to distribute several thousand hectares of drained land among old and new landowners. From 1608 to 1612 the lands of Rovigo were drained. All these events were not very systematic. The possessions of Lombardy, which were experiencing a kind of depression in the late 14th and early 15th centuries, began to rebuild in a new way, responding to market demands in the 15th and 16th centuries.<sup>263</sup> Related to this are such phenomena as the massive purchase of peasant lands or their acquisition for debts by clerics and nobles, which was facilitated by the impoverishment of peasants during the war and natural disasters.

There are no consolidated data of the 16th–18th centuries on a pan-Italian scale. However, some information related to Northern and Central Italy makes it possible to determine the nature of the redistribution of land holdings during this period. By the beginning of the 16th century urban land ownership occupied almost 40% of the total cultivated area, by the 1530s of the same century – over 50%, and by the end of the century – it was within 56%. At the end of the 16th century, the maximum percentage of land owned by citizens in only one area reached 73%, and in the 1630s – 75.02%. A level of 70% can be considered the norm for the Venetian lands of the 1660s if we take into account the Popolani and noble townspeople and 50% for the 1740s. These

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<sup>263</sup> The main features, ..., 1968.



conclusions can be reduced to the formulation of an increase and a high proportion of urban land ownership in the 16th–first half of the 18th century.<sup>64</sup> Unsuitable for cultivation (mountainous, swampy) lands did not attract urban residents, as can be seen from the example of land distribution in the mountainous region of the Apennines, where urban land ownership reached only 14–18%. In areas of hard-to-cultivate lands, peasant holdings reached 82–88% at the end of the 16th century (in the Apennines).<sup>65</sup> Such a high level did not indicate a large number of landowners due to the sparsely populated mountainous areas. More characteristic and important in terms of its social and economic consequences was the significant reduction in peasant land ownership during this period. Already at the beginning of the 16th century, the area cultivated by peasants in such a ‘communal’ area as Florence fell to 47–8%, in the 30s of the 16th century it reached 25% (in Lombardy), and by the end of the century it reached 5–9% (only in the lands of Piacenza a relatively high rate remained – 47–70%).<sup>66</sup>

The evolution of church and monastery land ownership also took place. At the beginning of the 16th century, it was 15–16%. In the 30s of the 16th century, it increased to 17%, by the end of the 16th century, it expanded from 21–27 to 35% (with the exception of Piacenza lands – 8–9%), and in the 17th and 18th centuries it remained at the level of 13–17%. The share of different social strata of society acting as landowners was determined not only by the size of the area but also by the productivity of the farm and its income. In this regard, the data provided by E. Copti and D. Demarco in the report by D. Cerubini are interesting. At the beginning of the 15th century, the population of the Florentine contado had a decrease in movable and immovable property from year to year: in 1401–1402, its value reached 3,307–358 florins, in 1412–1415, 2,362–587 florins, in 1427 – only 1,711–753 florins. The average cost of property per person dropped from 84 florins to 65, and then to 47–5 florins.<sup>67</sup>

The peasants were deprived of high-quality land. If they owned half of the territory under cultivation, then its value in 1427 was equal to 14.9%, while the townspeople, who owned less than half of this territory, owned 70.5% of the land value.

<sup>64</sup> Rutenburg, 1974.

<sup>65</sup> Sereni, 1963.

<sup>66</sup> Bondarchuk, 1980.

<sup>67</sup> Sereni, 1963.

By the end of the 15th century (1498), the value of peasant land had fallen to 10.9%, decreased very slightly among townspeople (to 66.9%) and increased among church and monastery landowners (from 14.6% in 1427 to 22.7% in 1498).<sup>68</sup>

In the 16th century there were 35,810 landowners in Contado Florence of which about 50% were considered peasants. They held 17.3% of the value of Contado's entire property while 13,259 owners who were listed as townspeople held 60.4% of the value of Contado's real estate and 5,386 church owners held 22.3%.<sup>69</sup>

There is a process of dispossession and impoverishment of the Italian peasantry, the intensification of the comradeship of agriculture and the associated agrotechnical restructuring carried out by both urban and church-monastery landowners. The formation and strengthening of regional absolutist states introduced a new peculiar element into the process of redistribution of land ownership: rich and noble townspeople acquired land in various ways located in the contado of cities that had lost their independence and were subordinate to the victorious metropolis. Thus, the noble citizens of Venice acquired lands in the contado of Padua, Verona, Polesina, and Treviso. In the middle of the 16th century Venetian owners received an annual income of 120,000 ducats from Paduan lands.<sup>70</sup>

The Florentine nobility, the Medici and Guicciardini, were no less aggressively advancing into the fertile lands of San Gimignano. In the 15th century they owned 94–122% of the entire "privatized" territory there; in the 16th century—131% and in the 17th century—185%. The Medici, as well as the Rucellai, Capponi, Pucci, and Salviati, were entrenched in the lands of Pisa. Entire fiefs were acquired. The famous merchant family Vendramin, who later became a noble, acquired the fief of Latisan for 6 thousand ducats at the end of the 15th century. In the following 16th century, on the land of this fief, the family started a herd of horses, which reached 10 thousand heads. Widely established farms in fiefs of this type brought large incomes. The penetration into the lands of neighboring subordinate cities continued in the 17th and 18th centuries. Thus, by 1722, more than 40% of Padua's cultivated land was in the hands of the Venetians.

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<sup>68</sup> Sereni, 1963.

<sup>69</sup> Sereni, 1963.

<sup>70</sup> Tretyakova, 1990.  
Rolova, 1956.

It was not a simple reversal, but a search for profitable ways of generating income at that time due to the difficult situation in the industry. The agrarian "enterprise," an agricultural enterprise of the 17th century analyzed by de Maddalena, could bring significant benefits, focusing on the requirements of the international market, in which Italian raw materials coming from the agricultural sector of the economy occupied a significant place.

*In conclusion*, it is necessary to note that the evolution of land ownership in Italy in the 17th and 18th centuries is a complex and ambiguous process that played a key role in the country's transition from feudal fragmentation to early capitalist relations and the creation of prerequisites for economic integration, which contributed to the further unification of the country. During this period, there were significant changes in the structure of land ownership, which affected both feudal and bourgeois lands, as well as church and monastery possessions.

The main vector of changes was an increase in the share of commercial agriculture, which was driven by the needs of domestic and international markets. Even in traditionally feudal regions, such as Southern Italy, there was a restructuring of the economy towards a market economy. The feudal lords began to actively respond to demand by increasing the production of grain, wine, sheep's wool, as well as valuable goods such as silk and sugar. This has led to the development of specialization in agricultural areas and the strengthening of inter-regional economic ties.

In the lands of Central and Northern Italy, there was a gradual strengthening of private property, accompanied by an increase in urban land ownership. By the end of the 16th century, urban owners owned more than half of the total cultivated land, and in some regions, their share reached up to 75%. At the same time, mainly peasant land ownership spread to mountainous and wetlands, as they were less attractive for investment.

Peasant land ownership has also undergone major changes. During the 16th-18th centuries, its steady decline took place, which was accompanied by the processes of dispossession and impoverishment of the peasantry. Townspeople and religious institutions actively bought up land from bankrupt peasants, which led to the formation of large latifundia and the concentration of property in the hands of the elite. The

increasing marketability of agriculture contributed to the increased exploitation of the peasantry and the complication of social stratification.

The church and monastery land ownership also changed during the period under review. If at the beginning of the 16th century it accounted for about 15% of all lands, by the end of the century it had increased to 35% in some regions. However, in the 17th and 18th centuries, its relative reduction and stabilization was observed at the level of 13-37%. This reflected the complex dynamics of the redistribution of land resources between different social groups.

Emerging regional states such as Venice and Florence have played a special role in the process of land redistribution. Rich and noble townspeople actively acquired land in provinces subordinate to their metropolises. For example, by 1733 more than 40% of Padua's cultivated land belonged to Venetian owners. This process was not a simple return to feudalism, but rather a search for the most profitable ways of farming in a changing economic environment.

Thus, the evolution of land ownership in Italy in the 17th and 18th centuries was determined by the interaction of many factors – economic, social and political. While elements of feudal land ownership remained in some regions, in others there was an active strengthening of private property and the growth of commodity agriculture. These processes have become an important part of the overall transformation of Italian society, which created the prerequisites for the subsequent unification of the country and its entry into a new economic era.

#### ***6.4.3 The Comradeship of Agriculture***

Pan-European and internal Italian conditions led to the comradeship of agriculture, which did not represent an all-encompassing and continuous process of transition of the Italian agricultural sector to the path of capitalist relations. However, this process, regardless of its scale and results in different regions of Italy, testified to the impossibility of considering the 16th-18th centuries as an era of continuous decline and "re-feudalization". Cipolla, exploring the issue of Italy's economic decline, emphasized the complexity of the situation and the great difficulties in its evolution. De Maddalena showed that the investments made by the Italian agricultural sector brought

guaranteed and constant profits. That is why the owners of monetary capital went to great lengths to improve agriculture. These improvements were economically justified to some extent, bringing in a small income—in the first twenty years of the 17th century, about 3% of annual profits.

The development of agriculture took place in a complex environment of decline and rise: the curtailment of some crops and the expansion of others, changing forms of taxation, and the evolution of forms of land ownership and land cultivation. In Northern Italy, there was a decrease in acreage and grain production, along with the emergence and development of new crops, primarily maize and rice. The cultivation of rice fields led to the intensification of agriculture, an increase in its marketability, and even an impetus for the capitalist development of agriculture. To a certain extent, this process was also observed in subsequent centuries, not only in the rice farming sector. In Piedmont, for example, the agrarian economy was stimulated by the mercantilist policies of the government.

The evolution of taxation was characteristic and practically important. Medieval taxation was replaced by a new type of cadastre. Since the end of the 17th century, land taxes have been reorganized in Piedmont and Lombardy. "With the advent of the cadastre," Renato Zangeri believed, "bourgeois law opened its way to Italian villages, the cadastre, by introducing bourgeois law, actually established the 'right of inequality' since entrepreneurs are not equal because of the different abilities and possibilities of capital turnover, invested and free." Cadastres were not only a new method of taxation, but also an indicator of a new situation. So, at the beginning of the 18th century, in Piedmont, the income from lands was equal to 20,634,812 Piedmontese lire, of which church possessions gave only about 15%, or 3,201,140 lire; secular feudal—about 7%, or 1,308,732 lire. Franco Valsecchi characterized this taxation policy as "the great struggle of the state against particularism in the financial field: the struggle against the privileged position of certain classes and certain territories leads to a struggle against autonomy. This is the central episode of the struggle between the aristocracy and

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Sereni, 1961.

absolutism.<sup>3</sup> According to L. Hufferer, financial measures were an element of mercantilism, which was a powerful incentive for the comradeship of agriculture.<sup>4</sup>

By itself, the cadastre could not be the reason for the development of capitalist orders and the emergence of capitalism in the countryside. It stimulated the growth of a productive agricultural system and its comradeship. The very evolution of social orders and the change in industrial relations was decisive. At the same time, there was a change in the technical means and methods of cultivating the land. The commodification of Italian agriculture has caused agriculture to become a productive sector since the 1680s, during times of "crisis" and "decline."<sup>4</sup> The Italian states exported raw materials and semi-finished products to various countries of Western Europe. This did not apply to all areas of Italy. The South of Italy occupied a special position. However, there was a significant development of trading capital in Stamps, and there was a noticeable increase in agricultural production, but after a relatively short period of recovery in this area (from 1735 to 1780), a period of stagnation set in. One of the essential reasons for this outcome was, according to Sergio Anselmi, "the history of the land, which was highly feudalized, saturated with seignories" and, moreover, "did not find a sovereign capable of organizing a single state on its territory: neither Albornoz nor the popes of the 16th and 17th centuries could do this."<sup>5</sup>

The development of agriculture, horticulture, and citrus cultivation industries has enabled individual small centers to turn into active commodity production cells, directing the flow of their products to the international market. This process called the "commercialization of the agrarian regime" by Giuseppe Felloni, was observed in Sanremo in the 17th and 18th centuries. In 1658-1659, 2.17 million lemons and oranges were exported, and in 1753-1754, 3.3 million pieces.<sup>13</sup> Such "outbreaks" of the commodification of agricultural products were a natural phenomenon even in "feudal" regions, however, in these relatively backward lands, and in the usual situation, it was not possible without marketable products going to foreign markets. In "feudal" Rome at the end of the 17th century, as in the classical Middle Ages, the townspeople kept and

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<sup>3</sup> The main features, ..., 1968.

<sup>4</sup> Sereni, 1961.

The main features, ..., 1968.

bred cattle for sale, as evidenced by the "Agricultural Regulations." The Roman cattlemen's workshop specialized in raising livestock for sale, as the charter said, "for the enrichment of Rome and for the benefit of the workshop."<sup>6</sup> A specific unit of the agrarian urban economy, known back in the Middle Ages, continued to operate as a commodity export organization in the 17th century. Therefore, it is necessary to take into account not only the presence of "feudal" and "bourgeois" regions of Italy, but also individual pockets and flows of commodity character in those and other regions, as exemplified by Sanremo and Rome, which were different in their professional profile and scale, but similar in their method of activity, which served as a model for the commodification of agricultural products, even if She was associated with the city as an administrative center and a center of handicraft production.

The relatively high marketability of Italian agriculture in the 17th century was also presented by archival documents of the era. Such were, for example, the reports of the Spanish ambassador to Venice, Don Aloisio Lueva, dating back to 1620, and the "Brief Reports" on the states of Italy, compiled in 1624. The anonymous author of the Brief Reports described the blooming coast of the Republic of Genoa: "From Ventimiglia to Sarzana, it is all occupied by gardens with citrus trees and olives, yielding a large harvest of oranges, lemons, at least 70 thousand barrels of olive oil and much more." The Spanish ambassador, referring to the description of the Republic of Genoa, reported that "many nobles are owners of castles, whose lands are a source of large profits." The republic's rival, Venice, which also owned territory on the peninsula, did not forget her agricultural pursuits: her "nobles turn all their thoughts to the income that the Terraform brings them."<sup>7</sup> The lands of the Milanese state looked very rich and abundant. The surroundings of Milan were an area of successfully developing horticulture, and in lands more remote from the capital, the fertility of very extensive territories increased, which was greatly facilitated by canals and rivers. All of this brought a noticeable reward that the cultivators felt.

Such highly profitable agriculture, observed in Lombardy, was typical of Northern Italy. In the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, already in the early years of Ferdinand

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<sup>6</sup> The main features. ... 1968

<sup>7</sup> Rutenburg, 1974.

His reign, "mills, slaughterhouses, and a huge number of pack horses could be found in the village at every turn, which could give the sovereign the opportunity to use thousands of such animals in the event of war to protect the state and feed his troops. In this most fertile state the fields produce wheat and other grains, as well as vegetables. Pisa produces wine, wheat, and other grains, and the Maremma, which covers 30 000 miles, raises many goats, pigs, cows, and sheep. In Calabria and Sicily, raw silk was produced, which brought 400,000 scanti income."<sup>1</sup> Chestnuts were harvested in the forests and pigs were raised.

It would be possible to observe the comradeship of agriculture throughout Italy only if this process developed "on a national scale," which in the 17th and 18th centuries was a necessary condition on the path to progress. But the historical course of events was unpredictable. Italy, in these centuries, was only charting the path to distant unity. One of the distant origins of the future unification was the creation of a capitalist system in Italian agriculture.

*In conclusion,* it is necessary to note that the comradeship of agriculture in Italy in the 17th and 18th centuries was a complex and heterogeneous process driven by both pan-European and internal Italian factors. This process was not a comprehensive and continuous transition to capitalist relations, but it demonstrated that this period cannot be unequivocally characterized as an era of decline and re-feudalization. Researchers such as C. Cipolla and De Maddalena emphasized the importance of agricultural investments and their profitability, which contributed to the development of commodity relations.

The development of agriculture in Italy took place against the background of changes in land taxation, the introduction of cadastral systems, and changing forms of land ownership. In the northern regions, such as Piedmont and Lombardy, there was a tendency to reduce grain crops while expanding areas for maize and rice. This contributed to the intensification of agriculture and the growth of its marketability. The introduction of new taxation systems, as Renato Zangeri has shown, stimulated the development of bourgeois legal norms in the agricultural sector and contributed to the establishment of market mechanisms.

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<sup>176</sup> Ardatovskiy, 1982.



Despite local differences, comradeship has affected many regions of Italy. Thus, in Piedmont, the agrarian policy was stimulated by mercantilism, and in Sanremo, the process of commercialization of the agrarian regime was observed, resulting in a significant increase in citrus exports. Archival documents attest to the high marketability of agriculture in the Republic of Genoa, the Duchy of Milan, and Tuscany, where the agricultural sector brought stable income. In the southern regions, such as Calabria and Sicily, the production of raw silk and animal husbandry were also commercial in nature, but here the process of comradeship was less intense due to the preservation of feudal orders.

Thus, the comradeship of agriculture in Italy in the 17th and 18th centuries, although it did not lead to a widespread transition to capitalist relations, became an important factor in the economic development of individual regions. This process was uneven and depended on many factors, including natural conditions, tax policy, and the degree of infrastructure development. However, it was thanks to him that the Italian agricultural sector was able to partially integrate into the European market, which in the long term became one of the factors of future economic modernization and a prerequisite for the unification of the country.

#### **6.4.4 The Maturation of the Capitalist System**

This process was not uniform in different regions of Italy and was not all-encompassing in terms of territory and the depth of maturation of new progressive relations. The maturation of the elements of the new capitalist way of life can be observed in such ways as using land as metayage and rent. They were studied by Giorgio Giorgetti based on the materials of contracts of the 16th–18th centuries in the lands of Milan, Bologna, Padua, Florence, Siena, and Neapol.<sup>9</sup> The classic example of these relations was the processing of a small-scale land plot by a landless employee on the basis of a contract concluded between them. These relations led to an increase in agricultural productivity and its commodity orientation. Some of the products were produced for sale on the market, while in the production process there was a relationship between the landowner and the farmhand, deprived of the means of production. Thus,

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<sup>99</sup> Poryuz, 2001.

there was the penetration of capital into agriculture and the intensification of the process of liberation of peasants from the means of production.

The agrarian Emilio Sereni found that Italy of the 16th century witnessed the first crisis of the feudal system in Western Europe due to the appearance of elements of capitalism in agriculture. This line of development did not mean, however, the rebirth of metayage. It retained its feudal coloring, which is confirmed by the research of Giorgetti, Manti and Sereni. Some Tuscan tenants retained ownership of livestock and inventory.<sup>30</sup> The maturation of capitalist elements was more evident in other types of leases. In general, in the 16th and 17th centuries, there was an expansion of the Italian peasantry, their expulsion from land plots, that is, the process of separating direct producers from the means of production. There was an increase in average and even large-scale bourgeois property, and bourgeois strata of various social characteristics increased. The formation of the rural bourgeoisie, the "massari," took place.

These processes were found in the 17th and 18th centuries even in the south of Italy, in the Kingdom of Naples. Already in the 17th century, in the Padan Valley, within the framework of feudal relations, a stratum of large tenants-obituaries, or financiers, who, having sufficient funds, acted as intermediaries between large landowners and colonials. Rural merchants operated like Lombard affluaries in Agro Romano and Gabelotes in Sicily.<sup>31</sup> All of them represented a fairly powerful stratum of the rural bourgeoisie, which, by leasing land, concentrated agricultural products in their hands and sold them on a massive scale. In the Verrelli lands, tenants acted not only as wholesale intermediaries between producers and the market, but also as entrepreneurs in the agricultural sector who expanded production through irrigation of fields and the introduction of new crops. These representatives of a new type of economic figure, affluaries, were not nobles. They undermined the monopoly ownership of land by the nobles, acquiring land holdings of the aristocracy and clergy, small-scale peasant property, and communal lands. They can be considered as new landowners of the bourgeois type. "They actually form," wrote Stuart Woolf, "a new agrarian bourgeoisie more powerful in Central and Northern Italy than in the South, suffering greatly from

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<sup>30</sup> Sereni, 1946.

<sup>31</sup> Diaz, 1970.

the traditional system of privileges and controls, against which this class had to fight for the protection of the free circulation of agricultural products for freedom of export and more equitable distribution, financial burdens."<sup>22</sup>

At the same time, this attack on the feudal order caused a significant deterioration in the situation of rural peasants. In the 18th century, a new stratum of capitalist affluaries was forming in Central and Northern Italy—rural and urban residents—and there was an even sharper social differentiation of the peasantry, its fragmentation, and the emergence of a mass of the smallest direct producers who made up the majority of the working population. By the end of the 18th century, the processes of capitalist development in agriculture in the Padan Valley went even further: the social differentiation of the peasant masses deepened, and large farms appeared, the bulk of which were day laborers.<sup>23</sup> A capitalist form of agriculture was being created. In parallel with the formation of large capitalist-type agricultural farms, the pauperization of ladles was observed. The ladle family of 6–7 people was a “working unit” or “production cell” according to Ruggiero Romano.<sup>24</sup> In the 11th and 13th centuries, metayage was a “classical” and progressive phenomenon, and since the 14th century, it has become an expression of a combination of capital and labor. Its evolution in the 14th–15th century has been thoroughly studied and shown in the works of I. A. Kotelnikova.<sup>25</sup> In the 16th and 17th centuries, the evolution of this type of land use and specific production relations led the main producers to proletarianization. In the 18th century, in Lombardy, primarily in the Padan Valley, there was an almost complete proletarianization of the mass of ladles and columns, along with the replacement of small plots by a large agricultural complex headed by an affluary, which, while legally maintaining a modest position as a tenant, practically became an agrarian capitalist. This usual situation did not exclude cases when a large land farm was in the hands of the owner, not the beneficiary. In these newly enlarged agricultural farms, the main labor force was hired day laborers or even permanently hired workers. This kind of capitalist development, observed in Northern Italy, testified to the slow, complex maturation of

<sup>22</sup> Rolova, 1987.

<sup>23</sup> Diaz, 1970.

<sup>24</sup> Sereni, 1946.

<sup>25</sup> Kotelnikova, 1952.

the capitalist system in the 17th and 18th centuries. In the 19th century it was strengthened, supported by relatively large land reclamation and irrigation works. The strengthening of the capitalist system was one of the essential phenomena that prepared the unification of Italy—and one of the origins of the Risorgimento.

*Thus* agriculture in the Age of Enlightenment was characterized by strong evolutionary transformations, both economically and socially, which served as a bridge between periods of complete fragmentation and the beginning of unification. At the turn of the Renaissance and the Risorgimento, the Italian states began a new round of their economic development, the goal of which was to achieve the level of development rates of the leading European countries.

#### **6.5 Trade of the Italian States of the 16th–18th Centuries**

The development of industry and agriculture was not only inextricably linked with trade, but also largely determined their condition. The relatively small share of industry in the Italian economy of the 16th and 17th centuries and the “agrarianization” of the economy was the internal environment that gave rise to the process of turning the country into an exporter of raw materials and semi-raw materials. The pan-European situation—the mastery of the eastern spice market by England and the Netherlands and an increase in exports of cheaper varieties of French silk, English—and Dutch cloth while reducing exports of Italian textiles—also contributed to this. However, such an economy cannot be considered “closed,” since the large flow of Italian products testified to the broad participation of Italian states in the pan-European process of capitalist development, especially since Italy continued to produce not only raw materials and semi-primary commodity products but also finished products, as presented by archival sources.

In the first quarter of the 17th century, Tuscan cloth and silk were sent not only to the markets of their state, but throughout Italy—and the rest throughout Europe and even to the markets of India. These goods were also exported to Russia. Florence’s navy had a significant number of galleys, ships were being built in the Pisa arsenal, and Florentine squadrons were stationed in Livorno and on the island of Elba. Marcello

Carmagnani believed that in Italy of the 16th–18th centuries, “merchant capital was able to break through and increase significantly using its own internal economic forces,” but “was not able to develop sufficiently on the basis of the colonial economy.”<sup>86</sup> However, it is necessary to consider its use in distant markets and colonies.

In the cities of Northern and Central Italy, according to the observation of the Spanish Ambassador Don Alonso Lueva, there was a wide and profitable trade in silk, linen, linen, cloth, wool, terracotta products, and timber. These goods went to all regions of Italy and abroad, in particular to Germany. Florence’s merchants sailed on ships “the Northern, Baltic and Black Seas, or even the ocean, and visited any part of the world.”<sup>87</sup> The port of Livorno, as well as Portoferraio on the Elbe, was of great economic and strategic importance to the Tuscan Duchy. The Tuscan state conducted a difficult trade in textiles and leather goods, purchasing wool, raw silk, and linen from France and Flanders. Venice, despite the large import of many important goods, had significant profits not only from sea trade but also from land trade. Genoa conducted extensive foreign trade in silk, brocade, damask, and velvet.

Along with this, trade activities of a traditional, medieval scale and character continued in other lands of Italy, for example, in Rome, the sale of cattle and alum. The Papa, Rome, despite the general deficit, continued to receive some income from trade. In 1624, the income items were as follows: the Roman customs brought 300 thousand scudi, the tax on the sale of flour was 50 thousand, the tax on the sale of salt was 400 thousand, the tax on the sale of livestock was 20 thousand, the tax on the sale of meat was 10 thousand, the tax on the sale of alum was 75 thousand scudi.<sup>88</sup>

Rome was not an example of the state of trade for the whole of Italy, but it confirmed the presence of commercial activity even in economically backward urban centers of regionally absolutist states of the old feudal type. This provision applied to the Kingdom of Naples. Many trading companies suffered income failures between 1636 and 1646:

- (1) The Delphin company, which exported olive oil, collapsed in 1636,

<sup>86</sup> Carmagnani, 1976.

<sup>87</sup> Archive, 18/225/19, Central State Archive of Italy.

<sup>88</sup> Archive 18/664/790, Central State Archive of Italy.

- (2) The company of the Florentine merchant Cosimo Magni collapsed in 1639.
- (3) The Fiamino Decio company, which traded textiles, went bankrupt in 1643.
- (4) The Pisan company, silk merchants, disappeared in 1645.
- (5) The Paolo Spinola company, trading in Naples, Lecce and Bari, dissolved in 1644.
- (6) Many companies sell wines in Naples.<sup>189</sup>

The reasons for this collapse were not only economic but also related to purely commercial and financial difficulties. The administrative chaos that was felt in the social sphere by the middle of the century also hindered. However, this did not mean a complete curtailment of trade throughout the kingdom, although the social conflict had an impact on the economic situation in the second half of the century. This situation has reinforced the specifics of the South's economic evolution, which has also affected trade. This did not contradict the relatively large scale of trade in the South. For example, in Sicily, customs received about 2 million scudo per year from the bread trade. The Palermo archives provide an opportunity to clarify the nature of Sicilian trade. Naturally, large feudal farms sent large shipments of food from Palermo. So, on January 2, 1621 Bartolo Meogiopoli, Marquis of Sambuca, Messina sent a shipment of local cheese from the seaport, and on January 22 a shipment of Mallorcan cheese was sent. In the same way, Spaniard Juan Lopez Dolivenza sent 595 pounds of raw silk worth 376 ounces of 15 tons. On January 4, Catalan Francesco Soter received 31 bales of white wool from Majorca, and the next day Spaniard Oliveriza received one bale of silk weighing 290 pounds and worth 155 ounces, and Gabriel Maso di Patzo received 1,239 pounds of raw silk worth 784 ounces of 21 tari. On February 4, Gascano di Martino di Patzo sent a shipment of wine. On April 1 Vincenzo Damiano loaded coarse Florentine cloth in the port of Palermo for resale. Padre Cesare Roscoe of the Jesuit Order sent seven boxes of candles.<sup>190</sup> The flow of various goods also went by land. The books on sea and land exports attest to Sicily's extensive and active pan-Italian and international trade.

The processes that took place in Venice, which in the recent past was a monopolist of the Adriatic, where it lost the first place to the British and the Dutch,

<sup>189</sup> Sibireva, 1982.

<sup>190</sup> Archive 18-432/165, Central State Archive of Italy.

seemed more diverse. In addition, the drying up of the Piave, Brenta, and Sile rivers began in the 16th century, which led to the decision to close the Chioggia, Malamocca, and Lido deltas, erect dams, stone "walls" and lay many small channels that prevent the erosion of the earth. However, all the measures taken by the Government of the republic to preserve the former greatness of Venice could not radically change the situation, as well as measures to strengthen the Venetian archipelago. The sea waves crashed against the stone walls of the dam, but Venice could not get rid of the floods, just as it could not regain its position. The restructuring of Venice's economy in the 16th century could still produce positive results. Venice continued to conduct active trade with the Levant and Southern Germany, and the spice trade revived somewhat, bringing considerable benefits until the end of the 16th century.<sup>281</sup> In the 17th century, the Mediterranean Sea almost completely ceased to be a spice road, and the South German cities also ceased to be a market. Venice, which managed to adapt to the difficulties in the 16th century, tried to rebuild itself in the dramatic conditions of the 17th century, but as a result, it lost its importance as a major world center and, during the 17th century, was reduced to the level of a regional port. However, even in this capacity, she did not abandon her active trading activities. In 1674–1675, according to an archival source, despite the reduction in the flow of goods passing through the German court in Venice, the profit from this trade amounted to 57,745 ducats. The import of various goods brought 264,788 ducats of income, and the export of bread—5,254 ducats. The general active balance of the republic in these years should also be noted. Venice and the "members of the city-state of Venice"—Chioggia, Murano, Torcello—were quite successful in farming, bringing in about 1.8 million ducats arrived, while all the combined "States of the Levant"—Candia on Crete, Corfu, Kefalonia, Dalmatia—about 327 thousand ducats.<sup>282</sup> The position of Venice was incomparably more favorable than the cities located in the maritime possessions of Venice, despite their participation in trade operations, and, in particular, in the supply of bread and other goods to Constantinople. The Spanish ambassador reported that "the cities of Dalmatia and Slovenia, Cattaro, Corzora, Zara, which are owned by the republic, and others located on 17 islands, are all well,

<sup>281</sup> Tretyakova, 1994.

<sup>282</sup> Sereni, 1972.

fortified, but for the most part depopulated and, if I must tell your Majesty the truth, in need of bread and other food."<sup>293</sup> Thus, even in difficult times of declining trade activity the Republic of St. Mark was able to use its experience as a colonial power to extract commercial benefits for the metropolis at the expense of the coastal city-states subordinate to it. Venice used the experience of adapting to new conditions in the 17th century which, according to the Spanish Ambassador Don Aloisio Lueva, allowed it to "today be a great and powerful republic abundantly filled with armed forces and wealth, to a greater extent than any other Italian state."<sup>294</sup> This characteristic has changed somewhat in subsequent years but has not lost its significance. In addition, Venice was not the only trading republic in Italy. In the 1770s, Trieste grew up and began to compete with it on the Adriatic. Genoa also continued to conduct active commercial activities, maintaining the allied relations with Spain established at the beginning of the 16th century. Until the second half of the 17th century it remained integrated into the economic, political and military system of Spain and used this situation to great advantage. The activity of Genoese merchants did not stop even after the decline of the Spanish monarchy and the rapid development of Dutch trade. The author of the "Brief Reports" wrote about the considerable exports of silk, brocade and other goods coming from Genoa<sup>295</sup>.

Since the end of the 17th century, there has been a revival of shipping and port activity in Genoa and other centers of Liguria, which was also facilitated by the establishment of Porto Franco. A large number of Genoese ships began to visit ports regularly again: North Africa, the Levant, and continued to ply the ports of Spain. Italy and Genoa have become important suppliers to the Spanish markets. "Genoa's active trading activity did not stop even after the loss of the Spanish markets. This is presented by the materials of the trading house of Giovanni Agostino, and Orazio Sampierdarena, stored in the Genoese archive, dating back to 1729-1734. The brothers carried out a wide trade in black Florentine velvet and various French fabrics, including black taffeta, brocade of all colors - gold, silver, gray, white, red, blue, well-crafted light Parisian

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<sup>293</sup> Rutenburg, 1974.

<sup>294</sup> Sereni, 1972.

<sup>295</sup> Rutenburg, 1974.



fabrics: silver Bordeaux lace and silk fabrics. The trading house was associated with Lyon, where it was represented by Diana's sons, the company of Pignato Roger Giovanni Antonio, Gideon Faubert, Francesco Murat. They traded with Geneva through Giacomo Lullin. Naturally, the Sampierdarena brothers had lively relations with the major centers of Italy. In Florence, they were in contact with Luco Morandini and Tomaso Gaetano de' Medici, Carmelli and Cattani, in Livorno with Ambrosio Gaetano Bonanni, in Padua with Carlo Antonio Busati, in Milan with Francesco Brugora. In addition to the main type of goods and fabrics, they also sold jewelry: necklaces with crosses and pendants made of colorful artificial stones. The cost of various shipments ranged from 937 to 4 983 lire. The profit reached 11%. This Genoese trading house also conducted retail trade using its shop on Skuravja. According to estimates, on May 4, 1729, 3,345 lira worth of goods were sold in this shop, and on May 15, 1730, 3,162 lire 7 soldi 2 denari<sup>26</sup> were sold.

Livorno became the new largest port center of Italy. Its significance for Italy and the whole of Europe was shown in the work of Fernand Braudel and Ruggiero Romano. The heyday of the city began at the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th centuries and continued into the 18th century. It was a growing and developing port: 2,000 people in 1575, about 10,000 by 1600, and up to 30,000 at the beginning of the 18th century.<sup>27</sup> Livorno's development as a port was due to the active efforts of the Grand Dukes of the House of Medici, who sought to turn it into a center of Tuscan trade. In France, it was called the "masterpiece of the Medici." In 1675, Livorno expanded its operations as Porto Franco. Open access and customs privileges attracted foreigners to Livorno, primarily the British and Dutch, who stored their goods here, which then went to other cities in Italy and to all the markets of the Mediterranean. However, due to the lack of development of the Italian industry proper, it turned from an Italian port into an international one. J. Candeloro said, "Economically, Livorno was somewhat isolated from Tuscany and the rest of Italy, but it was closely connected with foreign countries."<sup>28</sup> Livorno was part of the Anglo-Dutch commercial capital and the Italian,

<sup>26</sup> Rurenburg, 1974.

<sup>27</sup> Braudel, 1992.

<sup>28</sup> Candeloro, 1956.

Tuscan economy bringing significant profits to the Tuscan state. This can be seen from the orders of the government of the late 16th century on taxes on exports. The active participation of the Tuscan government in the operations of Livorno was presented by the texts of state orders on taxes on the transportation of fabrics and various types of grain and timber to distant northern countries through our seas to the Northern and Baltic seas to our advantage.

In the 18th century the Tuscan government closely monitored domestic and foreign trade. Already at the beginning of the century, after a full accounting of the harvested grape harvest, by the end of November free wine trade was announced throughout the Grand Duchy. The sale of wine outside the state was also allowed after notification of the quantity and price of the goods to the congregation for the sale of wine.<sup>99</sup> The varieties of particularly valuable wines intended for export (from the Chianti, Pomino, Carmignano and Valdarno di Sopra regions) were also determined. In the second half of the 18th century, during crop failures, the government reduced taxes on wine imported from abroad tenfold. The decrees of the Tuscan authorities, which promoted the development of international trade, found an echo among enterprising merchants from the very beginning of the 18th century. Thus, the Florentine trading house of Tommaso Salvatici already conducted a large maritime trade in 1700-1703, sending galleys, barges, and ships loaded with Flemish and English wool, sugar and other goods from Genoa to Alexandria, from Livorno to Marseille and other European ports. The Salvatici trading house had considerable capital-insured ships: in 1700 for 3,730 scudos, in 1702 for 4,770 scudos, and in 1703 for 1,974 scudos. The Salvatici House was not the only center of the maritime trade of the "land" of Florence; it was also conducted by other trading companies.<sup>100</sup>

*In conclusion*, it is necessary to note that the trade of the Italian states of the 16th-18th centuries was an important element of the economic structure of the region, which determined not only intraregional development but also the degree of Italy's involvement in the pan-European market. Despite the significant impact of the

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<sup>99</sup> Rolova, 1956.

<sup>100</sup> Candeloro, 1946.

agrarianization of the economy and the decline in the share of industrial production, trade remained dynamic and multifaceted, which is confirmed by historical sources.

On the one hand, Italy lost its position in the textile industry, losing to England and the Netherlands, which led to an increase in exports of raw materials and semi-finished products. However, the Italian states were not limited to this sector only. The development of maritime trade, especially in Florence, Venice, and Genoa, contributed to integration into international economic processes. Italian merchants actively traded with various regions of Europe, as well as with the Levant, India, and even Russia.

In Florence and Tuscany, the production of cloth and silk continued to provide a significant portion of income, as presented by the export of textile products to Europe and Asia. The ports of Livorno and Portoferraio, where merchant and military fleets were based, played an important role in ensuring maritime trade. Despite difficulties such as increased competition and changes in trade routes, Italian merchants found ways to adapt to the new conditions.

Venice, which once dominated the Mediterranean, was going through a difficult period but maintained active trade with Southern Germany and the Levant. In the 17th century, its influence declined due to the loss of its monopoly on the spice trade, but the republic continued to make profits through the import and export of various goods. The Dalmatian cities, which were under the control of Venice, played the role of transit points for the supply of Constantinople and other regions.

Genoa, despite the decline of Spanish influence, was able to maintain its position in the trade of silk, brocade, and other goods. In the 18th century, Genoa's trade expanded due to active shipping to North Africa and the Levant. The introduction of the Porto Franco regime contributed to the development of ports, which strengthened Genoa's position as an important economic center.

Sicily and Southern Italy, despite the administrative and social difficulties, demonstrated activity in the field of trade. Sicilian ports were engaged in the export of food, textiles, and other goods, which is confirmed by archival records on the supply of bread, wine, silk, and wool. Revenues from customs duties and taxes indicate significant trade volumes.

In the 18th century, Livorno became one of the largest port centers in Italy. This city has become an important international trade hub associated with the Anglo-Dutch capital. The development of Porto Franco attracted merchants from various countries to Livorno, which contributed to its prosperity. At the same time, the Tuscan government actively regulated domestic and foreign trade, establishing tax incentives and controlling the export of strategically important goods.

Thus, despite the changes in the economic structure and the loss of former positions, the trade of the Italian states in the 17th and 18th centuries continued to play an important role in the economy of the region and Europe as a whole. Italy remained a significant participant in global trade, adapting to new conditions and finding ways to maintain its economic activity.

## 6.6 The Financial Policy of the Italian States in the Age of Enlightenment

### 6.6.1 The Genoese State

Genoa conducted brisk financial transactions that characterized the economic evolution of Italy in the 16th–18th centuries. Genoa was particularly active as Italy's leading financial center during the years of prosperity of the so-called Besancon fairs, which actually served as an international financial exchange. The Genoese became the bankers of Spain and the Florentines of France. Italian financial companies arose in Spain, France, and the Netherlands: the Genoese Centurioni and Grimaldi, the Florentines Guadagni, Strozzi, Salviati, Capponi, and Sienza Chigi.<sup>201</sup> This testified to both the strength of Italian money capital and its partial diversion from the Italian economy proper. With the participation of Italian capital, business operations were conducted in Seville, Lisbon, the Canary Islands, Brazil, and even India. The Italians, to a certain extent, financed trade expeditions and, as their participants, contributed to geographical discoveries, benefiting from them.

The financial oligarchy of Genoa did not lose its importance even after the collapse of the Besancon fairs in 1622, and in the following 18th century there was a fairly strong concentration of monetary capital in its hands. Similar fairs continued to

<sup>201</sup> Rutenburg, 1974.

operate in the 18th century, as presented by one of the documents from the Genoese archive of Doria. In 1715, 15 cities participated in the international financial fair in Santa Margarita, of which 13 were Italian (Genoa, Milan, Florence, Venice, Rome, Bologna, Lucca, Bergamo, Lecce, Bari, Naples, Messina, Palermo) and two Spanish (Barcelona, Zaragoza). Only three Italian cities (Turin, Ancona and Livorno) participated in the international fair in Medina dei Campo, which were not part of the participants in the Santa Margarita Fair.<sup>36</sup> And if the latter can be called Italian, then the latter is international. In addition to Italian cities, three Spanish (Seville, Cadiz, Valencia), one French (Lyon), one German (Nuremberg), one Austrian (Vienna), one Dutch (Amsterdam), and one Flemish (Antwerp) city participated in it. Genoa, which retained a leading role in the Italian region, was absent from the Spanish fair. Internationality its importance was waning. At that time, the uniqueness of Genoa was preserved, which consisted of the complex interweaving of the capitals of the richest families, the Bank of San Giorgio, and the republic proper. The Bank of San Giorgio was controlled by the Genoese state, which was unable to fully repay its debt on the bonds of this bank. This brought him great political and economic benefits. In 1738, the monetary oligarchy of Genoa owned property worth 134.17 million lire, and individual families owned from 200 to 500 thousand lire. The Spinola family owned 11.89 million lire.<sup>37</sup>

Only one of the branches of the Spinola family – da Lucca – had a huge capital. On December 1, 1692, the bank of San Giorgio had 81,270 lire in the name of Angelo Giovanni Spinola, 1,000 lire in the name of Giovanni Francesco Spinola, 74,500 lire in the account of the whole family, 15,000 lire in the food supply service, 10,300 lire in the new bank, 69,600 lire in the state account thousands of lire on the marriage account and tonsuring as a nun, 196,800 lire. In the "Big Book" of the family for 1692, only part of the income exceeded 180,000 lire, 764,600 lire in 1694. The amounts to be refunded were relatively insignificant: 3,420 lire in 1701, 1,500 lire in 1710, 5,542 lire in 1720, 3,346 lire in 1729, 2,250 lire in 1737.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Sereni, 1972.

<sup>37</sup> Rojova, 1956.

<sup>38</sup> Rutenburg, 1974.

Besides Spinola, the Brignole, Doria, Grimaldi, Pallavicino, Sauli, Serra, and Centurione families operated as large banking companies. Genoese bankers placed their capital mainly in Spain and the Spanish possessions, providing loans on condition of providing them with income from indirect taxes and privileges. Partly legally, partly through smuggling, they managed to export a significant part of American gold and silver from Spain, they took taxes from the Kingdom of Naples, bought regalia in Milan, and acquired fiefs in the Milanese lands. In the second quarter of the 17th century, Genoese investments in Spain declined as a result of the depreciation of money and rising taxes on foreigners' property, which led to attempts to save their capital at the cost of becoming Spanish citizens. Nevertheless, by the middle of the 17th century, Genoese capital had left Spain and southern Italy en masse and headed for Milan, Venice, Tuscany, and ecclesiastical possessions in Italy (that is, to the northern and central states of the peninsula). This process of redistribution of cash flows lasted until the end of the 18th century.

In the last decades of the 17th century and in the first half of the 18th century, the narrowing of the Iberian market in the face of the decline of Spain forced the Genoese financial magnates to transfer part of their investments to France and other countries. In the second half of the 18th century, after the War of the Austrian Succession, in which Genoa also participated, Genoese bankers again launched active lending activities. In 1771–1792, some large banking houses of Genoa provided loans to the sovereigns, feudal lords, cities, merchants, and bankers of Austria, Denmark, Sweden, France, Germany, and Russia, the total amount of which exceeded 100 million lire. The nature of these operations was mainly usurious and could only contribute to developing new productive forces to a small extent.

*In conclusion*, it is necessary to note that the Genoese state played a key role in the economic and financial system of Europe in the 16th and 18th centuries, demonstrating outstanding success in banking and international finance. During this period, Genoa was the leading financial center of Italy, actively participating in the organization and holding of the Besancon fairs, which actually served as an international stock exchange. Genoese bankers such as Centurione and Grimaldi had strong positions

in Spain, France, and the Netherlands, contributing to the development of international financial transactions and the integration of Italian capital into the global economy.

Genoa's financial strength persisted even after the Besancon fairs were curtailed in 1622. In the 18th century, the concentration of capital in the hands of the Genoese elite reached significant proportions, and the Bank of San Giorgio played a crucial role in managing public finances. Control over the national debt allowed the bank and large family clans such as Spinola, Brignole, Doria, Grimaldi, Pallavicino, and Centurione to influence the economic and political life of the republic. Its financial strength persisted even after the Besancon fairs were curtailed in 1622. In the 18th century, the concentration of capital in the hands of the elite reached significant proportions, and the Bank of San Giorgio played a crucial role in managing public finances. Control over the national debt allowed the bank and large family clans such as Spinola, Brignole, Doria, Grimaldi, Pallavicino, and Centurione to influence the economic and political life of the republic. The large fortunes of Genoese families ensured the stability of the financial system and allowed the city to maintain a leading position in the Italian region, despite the weakening of its influence in the international arena.

Genoese investments were mainly concentrated in Spain and its colonies. The Genoese provided loans to the Spanish kingdom, took out taxes, and bought fiefs and regalia. However, in the second quarter of the 17th century, Spain's financial policy associated with rising taxes and the depreciation of money led to an outflow of Genoese investments that were mainly concentrated in Spain and its colonies. The Genoese provided loans to the Spanish kingdom, took out taxes, and bought fiefs and regalia. However, in the second quarter of the 17th century, Spain's financial policy associated with rising taxes and the depreciation of money led to an outflow of Genoese capital. As a result, the main investments began to move to Milan, Venice, Tuscany, and other northern and central regions of Italy, which contributed to the internal redistribution of financial resources in the country.

In the 18th century, especially after the War of the Austrian Succession, Genoa again intensified its activities in the international financial market. Genoese bankers provided large loans to governments and individuals in Austria, Denmark, Sweden, France, Germany, and Russia, totaling over 100 million lire. However, most of these

operations were usurious in nature which limited their contribution to the development of the real sector of the economy

Thus, the Genoese state represented a unique financial and economic phenomenon. On the one hand, it ensured political and economic stability due to the concentration of capital in the hands of the elite, on the other hand, its influence gradually weakened as a result of changes in international financial flows. Despite Genoa's declining role in the global economy by the end of the 18th century, its banking system and financial structures left a significant mark on the history of European capitalism, laying the foundations for the further development of international financial relations.

#### **6.6.2 Lombardy**

The state of the financial sector of the Genoese economy despite the specifics of the historical evolution of Genoa, requires comparison with similar industries in other states and cities of Italy. Archival data indicate the difficult situation that characterized the financial measures of the Italian states, which sought to fill the gap in their budgets.

According to Lueva, in the 1670s, Milan annually received 300,000 scudi from its heirs and subjects through the so-called monthly taxes, 300,000 scudi from the cattle tax, 230,000 scudi from the salt tax, 140,000 scudi for trade turnover, which was 8% of trade transactions, taxes for the sale of wine, flour, meat, fines, and confiscations, and taxes for the sale of wine, flour, meat, fines, and confiscations ranged from 700 to 1,000 scudi per year<sup>305</sup>

Even more characteristic data was found in the "General Budget of the City of Milan" of 1658, which listed a wide variety of items aimed at increasing the active part of the estimate: interest (7%) on subsidies given by the city to various persons, yielding 306,966 scudi; interest on five-, six-, and seven-percent loans – from 400 to 726 scudi; 316,000 scudi from income from muling up to 34,878 scudi (7%) from interest from the grain warehouse; 354,000 scudi from interest from taxes on the sale of wine; 98,000 scudi from interest from taxes on meat; 9700 scudi from interest from taxes on olive oil; 26,000 scudos interest from taxes on coal; 124,000 scudi of ordinary taxes; 150,000

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<sup>305</sup> Rutenburg, 1974



scudi of extraordinary taxes. These articles, which were diverse in their types and sizes of income brought in 1 862 300 scudi per year<sup>36</sup>. The financial activities of the city authorities aimed at mobilizing funds were limited by the legal capabilities of the city although its metropolitan scope made it possible to significantly increase the active part of the budget (about 2 million euros).

Milan, as a city in the hands of the Spanish authorities, despite its relatively lively economic and financial activities, could not achieve an active balance. In 1658, the city of Milan received 1 862,292 lire of income, had 3 352,773 lire of debt, and the deficit was 1 490,481 lire<sup>37</sup>. This was primarily due to the ruthless financial pressure of the "government of the whole of Italy" headed by the governor of Milan, who was appointed by the Spanish king. Under the governor there was a Secret Council consisting of nine people. The government received large sums of money not only from Milan and the whole of Lombardy but also from other Italian lands subordinate to Spain or dependent on it. So, "in 1624, as an ever-increasing levy related to the current wars, the king collected one and a half million gold pieces in a year: the author of the unpublished treatise reports"<sup>38</sup>. Even distant Naples, from its budget of 7.5 million ducats in 1636, was forced to send 1.35 million ducats to Milan to the government of all Italy: that is, about 20% of the total budget. Spain did not limit itself to the minimum necessary: "the revenues that the Spanish Monarchy received from its Italian possessions (especially from the Milan region) exceeded its expenses"<sup>39</sup>.

*In conclusion*, it is necessary to note that the economy of Lombardy in the 16th-18th centuries developed in difficult conditions caused by external political influence, internal financial difficulties, and structural peculiarities of taxation. Being a strategically important territory, Milan and the whole of Lombardy were under the control of Spain, which imposed significant restrictions on the economic autonomy of the region and contributed to the constant outflow of funds in favor of the Spanish Crown.

<sup>36</sup> Sereni, 1972.

<sup>37</sup> Sereni, 1972.

<sup>38</sup> Rutenburg, 1974.

<sup>39</sup> Rutenburg, 1974.

During this period, the Lombardy financial system was characterized by a multitude of tax collections aimed at maintaining the state budget. The tax policy was diverse and included both direct taxes (for example on trade, livestock, wine, meat, and salt) and indirect taxes related to interest on loans and fines. Despite significant tax revenues, Milan faced a constant budget deficit. In 1658, the city had revenues of 1.86 million lire, but the total debt reached 3.35 million, indicating a chronic financial crisis.

The main reason for this state of affairs is the strict control by the Spanish authorities, who actively withdrew funds from Milan and other cities in Lombardy to cover military expenses and the maintenance of the administration. Spain used Lombardy as a source of financial resources for its European wars, which significantly hampered the development of the local economy. This is especially noticeable against the background of tax levies from other Italian territories; for example, Neapolitan payments in 1636 amounted to 20% of the local budget, directed to Milan and further to the Spanish treasury.

Nevertheless, Milan remained an important economic center supporting high business activity and financial transactions. The city authorities tried to use various mechanisms to increase revenue, such as taxes on grain storage, coal, olive oil, and other goods, but these measures could not compensate for the overall financial imbalance.

Thus, the economy of Lombardy in the 16th-18th centuries was strongly influenced by Spanish rule, which led to a permanent outflow of funds and an increase in debt. Despite heavy taxation and significant revenues, Milan and the region as a whole experienced significant financial difficulties due to political and military factors. This created a difficult economic environment in which the city authorities had to look for new sources of revenue but could not eliminate the structural problems of the budget deficit.

### **6.6.3 The Duchy of Tuscany**

The Duchy of Tuscany is a typical example of the financial structure of the Italian state of the 17th century. According to Lueva's reports, the state received relatively small amounts: 300,000 scudo per year from taxes on meat and flour, 200,000 from customs duties, 130,000 from the salt levy, 75,000 from the tax on commercial

transactions, 50,000 from decimo, 16,000 from Prato, 74,000 from Pistoia, from 35 to 100 thousand from Pisa and Livorno, up to 700 thousand from construction taxes. However "all this will seem strange," the ambassador of the Spanish king remarked, "to anyone who learns that the Florentines, spending several million gold pieces on wars with all the sovereigns of Italy, still continuously build magnificent palaces and other buildings no less than it is done in cities newly founded, growing and fortified, claiming that's the greatness of the country."<sup>20</sup> The bank for the poor in Florence alone had about one million gold pieces. The main source of these riches was foreign loans: the sovereigns of all countries received loans from Florence from 100,000 to 1 million gold coins. The Spanish king alone received many hundreds of thousands of scudos from a Florentine bank under the guise of a loan: 400,000 for military purposes, 500,000 for help against the Ottomans. If not everything was provided as loans, then almost everything was returned to the banks of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany with high interest rates. Lueva wrote, "Nowadays, Florentines draw 8 million gold pieces from France, 300 thousand scudos from Germany." So, Tuscany is an international banker and its metropolitan residents receive 1,150,000 scudos per year from real estate alone.

The situation of the Duchy of Tuscany is characterized in the study of A. Rodova. We can agree with the conclusions of the scientists. The Tuscan tax system placed merchants, entrepreneurs, and financiers in favorable conditions, which was a factor that clearly favored economic development. This is presented by the data from Lueva's reports. In the 16th and 17th centuries, in order to quickly obtain tax amounts corresponding to the layout, it was widely practiced to pay off taxes or sell regalia to private individuals, although this made the government dependent on tax collectors. In the 18th century, during the reform period, Italian states began to buy back tax collection rights that had previously been sold to private individuals, which strengthened the tax system and dealt a blow to the old feudal system.

*In conclusion*, it is necessary to note that the economy of the Duchy of Tuscany in the 17th century was a unique example of a combination of the traditional tax system

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<sup>20</sup> Page, 1974.

<sup>21</sup> Rodova, 1966.

<sup>22</sup> Rodova, 1974.

and the active participation of the state in international financial transactions. The main revenues to the treasury were provided by taxes on meat, flour, salt, commercial transactions, customs duties and taxes on construction, which together generated significant income. However, foreign loans played a key role in the economic strength of Tuscany, which ensured a constant inflow of capital. Florentine banks provided loans to the monarchs and states of Europe while receiving high interest rates.

This system allowed the duchy not only to support its economy but also to finance major construction projects, including luxury palaces. Despite significant military expenditures, the region's economy remained stable, as presented by the presence of impressive capital in Florentine banks. In fact, Tuscany played the role of an international financial center, providing loans to France, Germany, and Spain.

A feature of Tuscany's tax policy was the provision of favorable conditions for merchants and entrepreneurs, which contributed to the development of trade and the financial sector. In the 16th and 17th centuries, the practice of paying taxes was widely used, which made it possible to raise funds quickly but, at the same time, made the government dependent on large financial groups. In the 18th century, reforms were aimed at eliminating this system, which led to increased state control and the weakening of feudal structures.

Thus, the economy of the Duchy of Tuscany was based on a competent combination of tax revenues and active participation in international financial transactions. Thanks to favorable business conditions and the strategic use of credit mechanisms, Tuscany was able to ensure its economic stability, as well as play an important role in the European financial system of that time.

#### ***6.6.4 The Kingdom of Naples and the Papacy***

In the 16th and 17th centuries, the sale of posts became widespread, especially in the Kingdom of Naples and the Papal State. Despite these government measures, taxes of all kinds increased enormously. Now, the author of the treatise "On the States of Italy," referring to Naples, referring to the first quarter of the 17th century, "costs are increasing so much so that the monetary levies and new gabelles reach 7 million

[ducats].<sup>113</sup> Alagni Lando wrote figuratively about the difficult situation and contradictory policies of the rulers of the Kingdom of Naples in his report: "There has never been such a state as the Neapolitan one which, without ever dying completely, fell into endless decline and which, already eternally enslaved, became so many times like an enemy of itself."<sup>114</sup> According to Lando's report, despite the maintenance of 4,000 royal soldiers and the high cost of war (200,000 scudos or more), "the income of this state reached two million 300 thousand ducats."<sup>115</sup> The reasons for this passive balance were the purely routine economic system of the Papal State, which tried to restructure itself somewhat in later times, as well as a reduction in the flow of funds to Rome due to the Reformation.

#### 6.6.5 Venice

Venice in the same period had an income of 1.4 million scudos, and together with the subordinate cities of Padua (180,000), Vicenza (200,000), Verona (230,000), Bergamo (170,000), Crema (100,000), Polesine (70,000), Brescia (1 million), Treviso (190,000), Istria (58,000), Friuli (100,000), maritime states (150,000) and various economic institutions and workshops such as the mint (150,000), this income reached 4.2 million scudos.<sup>116</sup> Another archival source from the same period gave a detailed list of all the usual revenues received from the cities and castles of Venice for the year including, except those listed, Terra di Salò (38,450 ducats), Isondara (4,906 ducats), Porto Buffaleco (746 ducats), Friuli Castello del Trevisano (856 ducats), Casteifranco (2,222 ducats), Serravalle Castello (2,642 ducats), Asolo Mountain Castle (2,455 ducats), Iordemone Castle (306 ducats), Feltre (6,831 ducats), Criviale di Beluno (8,134 ducats), Conegliano (12,397 ducats), Salice (2,047 ducats), Odezzo (6,333 ducats), Ceneda (333 ducats), Bassano (12,428 ducats), Udine (33,511 ducats), Criviale di Friuli (8,364 ducats), Palma Fortress (65 ducats), Cadore fortress (1,051 ducats), Porto Gruato (9,188 ducats), from the Levantine possessions— Candia (760,89 ducats), Kefallonia (12,297 ducats), Dalmatia (34,315 ducats). Venice received 1.8 million ducats a year

<sup>113</sup> Sibireva, 1982.

<sup>114</sup> Serena, 1972.

<sup>115</sup> Rutenburg, 1980.

<sup>116</sup> Punt, 1952a.

The most significant was the total active balance of the Most Serene Republic in 1674: 3.833,245 5 ducats of income, 2,927 950 ducats of expenses, and 910.195 5 ducats of excess income over expenses<sup>317</sup>.

## 6.7 Conclusion

Summarizing the results of Chapter 6, it is necessary to conclude that the economic characteristics of Italy in the 16th–18th centuries attest to the complex and ambiguous development of the region. During the Age of Enlightenment, Italy experienced a protracted economic decline caused by a variety of factors, including political fragmentation, interference by foreign powers, and outdated feudal structures. Many states of the peninsula experienced serious financial and economic difficulties, however, certain evolutionary processes aimed at modernizing the economy took place in a number of regions.

The overall economic situation was aggravated by a high degree of taxation, an imbalance between the development of industry and agriculture, as well as slow adaptation to changing trade conditions. The problem of poverty remained relevant, which, in turn, influenced wage policy. An important aspect was also pricing, which experienced significant fluctuations under the influence of internal and external factors.

The Italian industry in the 16th–18th centuries was in a difficult situation. In some regions, there was an industrial downturn due to competition from the more dynamically developing European powers. However, in some cities, such as Venice and Genoa, there was a reorientation of the centers of industries, which contributed to the preservation of their economic importance. At the threshold of the Risorgimento era, statistics indicated a gradual recovery of some industries.

The social and economic development of the agro-industrial sector also showed a heterogeneous picture. In the 17th and 18th centuries, important changes took place in the structure of land ownership, including the process of its concentration in the hands of large landowners. However, the agrarian revolution, accompanied by the comradeship of agriculture, contributed to the introduction of elements of the capitalist way of life, which was especially evident in the northern regions of Italy.

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<sup>317</sup> Page 952a.

The trade of the Italian states, despite the difficulties, continued to be an important element of the economic life of the peninsula. Genoa, Venice and other maritime republics have used their historically established ties to adapt to new economic realities. However, limited expansion and the weakness of colonial policy led to a gradual weakening of Italy's position in international markets.

The financial policies of individual Italian States also showed considerable diversity. The Genoese state has successfully used the banking experience, rebuilding the economy in accordance with the new conditions. Lombardy sought to develop industrial production, while the Duchy of Tuscany maintained a mixed economic mode. In the Kingdom of Naples and the Papal States, attempts were made to preserve the traditional economic structure and Venice actively supported trade and financial transactions.

In general, the financial condition of Italy during the Enlightenment artificially worsened due to the loss of independence of many of its lands, which were under the rule of Spain. However, in regions where the influence of the Spanish crown was weaker, such as Venice and Genoa, development took other paths. Genoa, for example, found new markets within Italy using its centuries-old banking experience and implementing economic reforms. Similar processes have been observed in agriculture, which indicates certain development prospects.

Summing up the development of Italy in the 16th-18th centuries, it is worth noting that the disparate Italian states demonstrated significant economic differentiation. The northern regions increasingly focused on industry while the south remained predominantly agricultural. Despite the economic and political fragmentation, the territorial proximity, cultural roots, and the desire for economic growth contributed to the development of trade and financial ties between the regions.

Nevertheless, the weak colonial policy and the lack of a unified strategy for economic development led to Italy lagging behind the new economic leaders: England, Spain, Portugal, and Germany. This objectively contributed to the formation of prerequisites for the future unification of individual Italian states into a single whole. The era of the Risorgimento was gradually approaching, and the economic processes of the 16th-18th centuries played a key role in its onset.

## **Chapter 7**

### **Economic and Social Characteristics of Italy in the First half of the 19th Century**

#### **7.1 Introduction**

Chapter 7 is devoted to the analysis of key aspects of the economic and social development of Italy in the first half of the 19th century. The introduction to this chapter provides an overview of the upcoming analysis, emphasizing its importance for understanding the complex processes that took place in Italian society and economy during this period.

The first part of Chapter (7.2) examines the Kingdom of Italy in the first half of the 19th century. Special attention is paid to the socio-political and economic state of the country during the reign of Napoleon when French influence had a significant impact on the development of the region. In the same part, the demographic situation in Italy is analyzed, highlighting key trends in the structure of the population, its size, density and migration processes.

Section 7.3 provides an analysis of the statistical characteristics of various industries in Italy. The main indicators demonstrating the development of industrial production, its dynamics, and key factors that influenced its formation in the first half of the 19th century are considered.

Section 7.4 is devoted to agriculture in the Kingdom of Italy. Subsection 7.4.1 discusses various branches of agriculture, their role in the country's economy, the main regions of agricultural production, and farming methods. Subsection 7.4.2 analyzes the importance of agriculture in foreign trade, describing export-import operations, as well as the impact of the agricultural sector on the economic stability of the region.

Section 7.5 examines the formation of the new trade policy of the Kingdom of Italy. Subsection 7.5.1 analyzes trade relations with leading European countries, identifies Italy's key partners, and examines the impact of foreign trade relations on the state's economy. Subsection 7.5.2 highlights issues of customs organization, trade regulation mechanisms, and policy measures aimed at protecting the domestic market.



Section 7.6 is devoted to the economic characteristics of Italy's maritime cities, which played an important role in the region's trade and industry. Subsection 7.6.1 analyzes the commercial navigation of the Kingdom of Italy: its scope and directions. Subsection 7.6.2 focuses on Trieste as a major industrial center and examines its economic structure and development. Subsection 7.6.3 examines the Venetian Maritime Administration and Trade and reveals the specifics of the city's trade activities and their impact on the regional economy. Subsection 7.6.4 presents the characteristics of Venice's industry and analyzes the main production sectors of the city.

Section 7.7 examines in detail the Italian textile industry during the Napoleonic rule. Subsection 7.7.1 examines the silk industry: its development, production centers, and economic importance. Subsection 7.7.2 analyzes the regional characteristics of the textile industry, identifying differences in the development of the industry in different parts of Italy. Subsection 7.7.3 provides a description of wool and cloth production, including its volume and organization features. Subsection 7.7.4 is devoted to cotton production, its dynamics, and its impact on the country's economy.

Section 7.8 discusses the metallurgical production of Italy. Subsection 7.8.1 analyzes the geography of the mining industry of the Apennines and identifies the main metal mining centers and their economic importance. Subsection 7.8.2 is devoted to the trade balance of metallurgical production and examines the export and import of metallurgical products, as well as the impact of this sector on the economy of the region.

Thus, Chapter 7 provides a comprehensive analysis of Italy's social and economic development in the first half of the 19th century, focusing on both the industrial and agricultural sectors, as well as trade and international economic relations. This analysis allows us to better understand the economic dynamics of the region and identify key trends and factors that determined the development of Italy in this historical period.

## 7.2 The Kingdom of Italy in the First Half of the 19th Century

### 7.2.1 General Characteristics of the Social and Economic Condition of Italy during Napoleon's Reign

General Bonaparte first invaded northern Italy in the spring of 1796. French rule in the Cisalpine Republic, formed after the war of 1796-1797, was interrupted in 1799 by the Suvorov campaign and restored by the first consul of the French Republic after the Battle of Marengo on June 14, 1800. On January 26, 1802, at a meeting of the 452 notables of the Cisalpine Republic convened in Lyon, Napoleon Bonaparte, its president, renamed this republic the "Italian Republic."<sup>5</sup> On March 18, 1805, the Italian Republic was renamed the kingdom, and its president, who was now Emperor of the French, assumed the title of king. During the entire period from 1800 to the end of his reign, Napoleon was actually the autocratic overlord in this republic and then the kingdom. He issued decrees concerning all areas of state life, appointed and dismissed senior dignitaries, and concluded any political and economic agreements. Now it is necessary to describe those features that can explain how Napoleon looked at the kingdom and what tasks he set for Italy.

We can judge trade, industry, and agriculture in 1796-1804 on the basis of later testimony. The forced extraction of precious metals, which began with the very first arrival of Bonaparte, took place. One of the first consequences of General Bonaparte's invasion and conquest of Lombardy was the imposition of the heaviest indemnity on the inhabitants, and the new rulers did not stop at the most severe measures where it was a question of appropriate penalties. At the same time, the conqueror sought to attract the poor to his side, emphasizing that contributions should be collected from wealthy people and from church property. As early as July 1796, it was announced that if within twenty days any commune in Lombardy did not pay an indemnity, the municipal officials and twenty of the richest persons of this commune would be arrested and taken to France, and their property sequestered until the arrears from the commune were made up. Bonaparte expressed a desire that the indemnity be collected only from the property of the rich and well-to-do. At first, Bonaparte ordered to use the testimony of the land

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<sup>5</sup> Salvadori, 1990.

registry but soon this head turned out to be unreliable: on the one hand, there were very rich citizens who did not possess any land property; on the other hand, there were landowners who had a large area of land on paper and yet they were burdened with debts. Then General Bonaparte ordered to take into account not only the cadastre, but also the "general reputation" of this person, with a general opinion about his worth. Curiously, according to the executors of Bonaparte's will, such a method "poses the least abuse and inconvenience."<sup>119</sup> It was a country in which, in 1796, one could not only say everything but with which one could do everything quite unhindered. First of all, this contribution was collected from abbeys, monasteries, and all types of industry and property commensurate with the capital: 0.5% from 25 thousand, increasing everything by 0.5% to 10% from the corresponding capital. According to French estimates, from the moment when the Republican army entered Piedmont for the first time until the end of 1796, in total, all the states of the peninsula paid 46 million francs in contributions, including the seizure of state coffers. Of this total, Lombardy accounts for 18.5 million francs, Bologna for 7 million, and Mantua for 420 thousand francs.<sup>120</sup>

For a long time the French Republic did not think about creating a large vassalage in northern Italy until the time when General Bonaparte actually managed to occupy Lombardy in 1796. In the spring of 1793, Danton convinced the Committee of Public Safety that it was possible and useful to win over the Sardinian King Victor Emmanuel, promising him the Milan region or part of it. The Directory agreed that the Milan and Cremona regions should join Piedmont, while France was to receive Savoy and Nice from Piedmont, and Piedmont undertook to conclude a trade treaty with France that would be beneficial to it. Bonaparte was appointed commander-in-chief of the Italian army on March 7, 1796, and on May 14 he entered Milan victorious. The latest researcher of the Cuvot Directory's foreign policy suggested in his work that it was after Bonaparte's sympathetic meeting with the inhabitants of Milan that the French commander-in-chief conceived the idea of creating a special state from northern Italy.

<sup>119</sup> Kovalskaya, 1977.

<sup>120</sup> Seren, 1972.

Having taken possession of Lombardy, the Directory set about the vigorous exploitation of the lands of the newly created Cisalpine Republic.<sup>1</sup>

Already during the first extremely difficult years for the Cisalpine Republic, the French military administration, which exploited it, did not cease to assure the locals of the imminent change in the situation, the relief of the country's heavy military service for the maintenance of French troops, and the impending annexation of neighboring territories to the Cisalpine Republic. Continuous wars terribly burdened the Northern Italian territory, and when Bonaparte reappeared in 1800, he found the country in an incomparably worse state than in 1796. According to General Bonaparte's French informants, who sent him reports on the situation from Milan, Turin and other cities in Piedmont and Lombardy after the Battle of Marengo, northern Italy had been severely devastated by previous wars. They confirmed that the devastation started by Bonaparte's campaign in 1796-1797 was continued and completed by Suvorov's campaign and the Austrian invasion. The Austrians continued to ravage the country after Suvorov's departure, and Piedmont alone was plundered by them for about 150 million francs.<sup>2</sup> Lombardy fared no better.

The Treaty of Lunéville, signed on February 9, 1801, finally secured the de facto protectorate of the first consul over the Cisalpine Republic. It was a 'personal union' between France and Italy. The First Consul of the French Republic was also the President of the Cisalpine Republic. After the Peace of Lunéville, Bonaparte, as before that time, was content with purely administrative reforms, most of all, caring about the most appropriate organization of fiscal and police oversight bodies. Bonaparte ordered the Cisalpine Republic to pay the French Treasury 2 million livres per month. This amount did not include expenses for the maintenance of the French army, which had not yet been withdrawn. In fact, the country was governed by the dictatorial will of Bonaparte, often carried out not even through a government commission, but through generals who had adopted the custom, when necessary, to communicate directly with the prefects of those 12 departments into which the Cisalpine Republic was divided by decree of May 13, 1801. The exploitation of the Cisalpine (since January 26, 1802, the

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Kolosov, 1979

<sup>22</sup> Candeloro, 1979

Italian) Republic was staged on a grand scale. The Vice-President of the Republic of Italy Melzi did not hide from General Bonaparte that Italy was making sacrifices that were completely unbearable for her to maintain the army and that up to 12 million francs were transferred from Italy to France every year, half of which did not return to Italy through suppliers of provisions for the army. Melzi was very pessimistic and foresaw the ruin of the country, and he also did not hide this from the almighty ruler<sup>323</sup>. This exploitation took on a variety of forms. The French government ordered the Italian government to buy obsolete artillery shells, received millions for them, and still did not even bother to deliver them to Italy.

At the very end of 1804 and the beginning of 1805, Napoleon pretended to be working on a plan to make Brother Joseph King of Italy. However, everything remained the same: the future "true independence" of Italy required that Napoleon continue to own it and keep a huge army there. On March 17, 1805, the emperor listened in a solemn audience to a deputation from the Republic of Italy, who asked him to accept the royal title, and solemnly accepted it. The change was only in the term: as president, he was already effectively the autocratic ruler of Italy. On March 18, the Senate proclaimed him King of Italy. On the same day, a "constitutional statute" was proclaimed. Napoleon was proclaimed hereditary King of Italy, but with the proviso that "when foreign armies evacuate the State of Naples, the Ionian Islands and the island of Malta, Emperor Napoleon will transfer the hereditary crown of Italy to one of his legitimate male children, either blood or adopted"<sup>324</sup>. From the time when this happened, the crown of Italy could never be united with the crown of France in the possession of the same person. Finally, article V promised that during the same current year, 1805, the emperor would grant Italy a constitutional structure "based on the same foundations as the structure of the French Empire and on the same principles as the laws he had already given to Italy"<sup>325</sup>. In a solemn response to the request of the Italian deputation to accept the royal title, Napoleon said that he was assuming this crown temporarily, as long as the interests of Italy required it.

<sup>323</sup> Tarle, 1948.

<sup>324</sup> Caracciolo, 1989.

<sup>325</sup> Tarle, 1948.

The Constitution has never had any real significance either in the political or economic field. One can only note the division into curia. The Curia Possidenti elected 300 electors, the Curia Dotu and the Curia Commerciali 200 electors each. The first curia included landowners, the second—people of liberal professions, and the third—merchants and industrialists. Full-fledged owners were understood to be owners of land *rea*, estate that generated at least 6 thousand lire in annual income. The third curia included only the largest industrialists and merchants. A few days before the coronation, on May 19, 1805 representatives of the curia of landowners, scientists, and merchants had an audience with the Emperor.<sup>14</sup> To the first, he recommended choosing people of good principles and attached to his person, to the second, he pointed out that his throne alone is able to guarantee independence, freedom and all liberal principles, the basis of the constitution.<sup>15</sup> To the third, he promised patronage and expressed confidence in their love and loyalty.

By a decree signed in Milan on June 7, 1805, Napoleon appointed his stepson, Prince Eugene Viceroy of Italy.<sup>16</sup> The border separating the kingdom from the French Empire, according to another decree signed on the same day, was to serve as the Po River to the mouth of the Ticino and the Sesia River to its mouth. The appointment of his stepson as viceroy revived rumors for a while that the emperor intended to make Eugene king soon. So far there has been some disappointment in a society that understands political issues. The dream of independence could not be reconciled with the thought of a king living in Paris. In December 1807, after visiting Italy, the emperor no longer talked about the separation of the two crowns, on the contrary, he advised Italians to look at the French as "elder brothers" and to look at the existing personal union as a source of well-being and a guarantee of independence.

Napoleon had to consider the additional difficulty of implementing policy in the Kingdom of Italy. It consisted of some friction of the governmental mechanism. The Emperor always categorically rejected even the very idea of giving this or that independent possession in Italy, this or that duchy to an Italian: these duchies were

<sup>14</sup> Caracciolo, 1989.

<sup>15</sup> Sereni, 1972.

<sup>16</sup> Villani, 1998.

supposed to be the exclusive lot of marshals and generals of the imperial army. He couldn't entrust the vast kingdom to a non-Frenchman. But Eugene had to use the services of local knowledgeable people: his ministers were Italians, and that is where things did not always go smoothly. The Italian ministers, under pain of resignation, were obliged to think more about the interests of French producers than Italian consumers in their trade policy: and from this viewpoint, they rejoiced at any reduction in "foreign competition," for example, the forcible cessation of sales of the Berg industry.<sup>129</sup> By some signs, it can be seen that the emperor did not particularly trust such expressions of joy. He followed the work of the government apparatus in the kingdom.

The principle of reciprocity was not out of the Italian ministers' minds, although Italy's position relative to France and Napoleon's views on the desirable interactions between the two countries were such that it was difficult to dream of anything resembling a systematic and consistent implementation of this principle. It was necessary to seize on individual, small cases, and take advantage of a convenient opportunity to stealthily bargain on the basis of this principle for Italian merchants or industrialists. The French Minister of Commerce appealed to the Italian Minister of Finance asking permission for French merchants to import into Italy a certain amount of ready-made dresses made of paper cloth. The imperial decree of October 10, 1810, stated that only paper materials were allowed, and not finished products made from these materials. Merchants from Pavia had been waiting for months for permission to import exactly the same goods to France.<sup>130</sup> He immediately took advantage of this and raised the issue of reciprocity. But much could not be achieved by such a petty struggle. Napoleon did not trust the ministers of the Kingdom of Italy and was inclined to think that they were capable of usurping the power of the viceroy: it was only necessary for him to show weakness in protecting his prerogatives. He also did not believe in the selflessness of his subordinates. The difference between the viceroy and the ministers really came down to the harmless fact that Eugene, as a stepson, sometimes dared to speak openly about what the ministers were silent about. But not once did the matter go beyond this, and the Viceroy did not dare to show any perseverance.

<sup>129</sup> Bernardi & Garapini, 1996.

<sup>130</sup> Barbagallo et al., 1995.

When discussing the trade treaty between France and Italy in 1808, the Viceroy frankly wrote to the emperor that some of the harassment of the imperial ministers tended directly to the destruction of important branches of Italian industry.<sup>32</sup> Eugene understood that this would make it difficult to soften the terrible ruler and, therefore, considered it necessary to point out that the destruction of Italian industry could adversely affect the revenues of the royal treasury. Eugene Beauharnais was not known for cruelty: he was a man of personal nobility and knew how to get into someone else's position. There are a lot of indicators in the documents of the Milan archive that, unbeknownst to his formidable stepfather, the viceroy repeatedly saved from death and ruin those who violated the ban on trading with the British. There were, for example, such cases: on a ship belonging to the same foreigner who did not even know about the harsh decree of June 10, 1806, a bale of cotton yarn of English origin was found. The ship was subject to confiscation, the owner to imprisonment and a fine. The viceroy was content to impose a fine of 700 lire and confiscate the goods but released the shipowner from prison and returned the ship to him. However, the Viceroy followed the rules of the continental blockade and the decrees stipulated by it extremely closely.

Napoleon exploited the Italian treasury in the most decisive way for general imperial purposes. This drained and drained the kingdom's already more than modest coin market, weakened credit, and harmed trade and industry. The emperor categorically and fundamentally rejected any idea that his Italian subjects would be less burdened with taxes than the French. Immensely exaggerating the benefits that the Italians allegedly enjoyed, he did not allow any relaxation in Fisk's actions. He was ruthless in collecting taxes from Italy. He was almost always sarcastic about the complaints coming from Italy. He demanded that his kingdom contribute 2.5 million francs a month to the French treasury, in addition to the ordinary income that he received as Italian King.<sup>33</sup> Not content with the regular tribute exacted from the Kingdom of Italy in favor of the Empire, Napoleon resorted to emergency extortion when he found it necessary. In early 1804, the First Consul ordered the Republic of Italy to contribute 7.4 million livres to the French Treasury for the construction of the fleet. However, on May 26 of the same

<sup>32</sup> Skazkin, 1970-71.

<sup>33</sup> Pant, 1952a.



year half of this amount was allowed to be reimbursed in kind, delivering 1.2 million livres of hemp. In the war of 1805 Napoleon ordered an extraordinary sum of 6 million francs to be collected from the Kingdom of Italy and it was with this money that he paid for all military supplies to the army assembled in Italy. But since this amount would not have been enough with a normal payment for the supplied products, he almost simultaneously and after some restrained protests from Eugene, announced under requisition everything that the army in Italy could receive. The constant levies increased, especially since 1806, when Italy paid 1.6 million francs per month to the Imperial treasury as a "subsidy" during the first four months of 1806 and 1.5 million francs per month during the last eight. In total, for the whole of that year—26.4 million francs. Since 1807, this subsidy has been increased to 30 million francs annually.<sup>333</sup> In 1806, Napoleon ordered not only to maintain the French and Italian armies stationed in Dalmatia at the expense of the Italian treasury but also to deliver the necessary amounts in gold coins to the military authorities. In two years (1806–1808), 16 million francs went to the maintenance of the French army in Dalmatia, and 3.6 million francs went to the maintenance of the Italian army. According to the emperor's order, these 19.6 million francs were shipped from Italy in gold coins.<sup>334</sup> Of course, this caused great alarm and inconvenience to the trading world since in 1808, there was absolutely no gold left in the kingdom, and the viceroy was very worried and reported this to Napoleon, as he did not know how to help at all. It is characteristic that this gold is not left in Dalmatia either. And the matter was not limited to these approved expenditure items for the army and navy. In fact, almost always more was spent because Napoleon made unforeseen estimates for these departments. The Imperial Quartermaster usually placed orders in France, not in Italy. And if anything went to the Italian contractors, they were not paid as carefully as the French. How accurate was the payment for the things and supplies taken by the French Quartermaster? It follows from the fact that in 1810, Napoleon ordered to pay 212,900 thousand francs for the equipment delivered by Italian

<sup>333</sup> Caracciolo, 1989.

<sup>334</sup> Caracciolo, 1989.

contractors in 1800 for the French army. In 1811, the emperor was reminded in a special report that in 1810, he had ordered this 10-year debt to be paid<sup>35</sup>

Intending to annex the Ecclesiastical region to the Empire, Napoleon did not want the portion of the national debt that he had decided to pay to fall solely on the Empire. He ordered that this debt be attributed to the Empire and the Kingdom of Italy, and he believed that most of it would be paid by Italy. Here are some figures concerning the state budget of the Republic and the Kingdom of Italy during the Napoleonic period. There are indicators about some of the first years of Napoleon's rule, as well as about some of the last years of this era. In 1803, the total income was 97 011 thousand lire, 96,996 lire of expense, 107,559 lire of income and 91 632 lire of expense in 1804, 100,473 lire of income and 103,282 lire of expense in 1805, 140,466 lire of income and 139,001 lire of expense in 1806, 114,230 lire of income and 114,230 lire of expense in 1807.<sup>36</sup> These figures increased in the last years of his reign. The main income items were

5,647 thousand lire of taxes on land real estate

48,818.7 thousand lire of customs, taxes on salt, tobacco, and consumer goods<sup>37</sup>

To the total figure of net income generated by indirect taxation, it is necessary to add the expenditure shown separately for this part of the fiscal organization, and then the figure of gross income from indirect taxation shown in the document will also be 66 million lire. Most of the individual articles of indirect taxation are

22,359,854 lire of salt tax,

27,766,785 lire of taxes on other consumer goods,

8,659,588 lire of gross income of customs (10,168,687 lire in 1808).

The general report on the finances of the kingdom, submitted to Napoleon at the end of 1812, stated that from February 14, 1802, from the time of the constitutional order to October 1, 1812, the number of state revenues of the kingdom was expressed in 636 million lire and that almost the same amount was spent.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Barbagallo et al., 1994

<sup>36</sup> Bernardi & Ganapini, 1996

<sup>37</sup> Candeloro, 1979

<sup>38</sup> Candeloro, 1979

*In conclusion*, it is necessary to note that the reign of Napoleon Bonaparte in Italy from 1796 to 1814 had a significant impact on the political and economic state of the region. During his conquests and subsequent administration of the Cisalpine Republic and then the Kingdom of Italy, Napoleon pursued the goals of not only military and administrative control, but also economic gain.

Politically, Italy remained under the de facto dictate of the French emperor, who centralized power and appointed his henchmen to key positions. Constitutional acts and formal changes in the status of states (from republic to kingdom) did not lead to significant changes in governance, as all decisions were made directly by Napoleon. He controlled Italy's internal politics, foreign relations, army, and finances, preventing its independent development.

Napoleon's economic policy was largely exploitative. The French authorities established indemnities, requisitioned property, imposed taxes, and exported significant amounts to the treasury of France. Landowners, monasteries, and industrialists were particularly affected, forced to give part of their income to the French state. Constant wars and military campaigns also ravaged the region, leaving it in a state of chronic financial crisis.

Despite the harsh measures, there were some positive aspects in the management of Italy. Napoleon reformed the administrative system, introduced new tax mechanisms, improved law and order, and helped modernize a number of economic sectors. Attempts were made to streamline trade and industry, but Italian interests were almost always inferior to French ones.

The complexity of the political and economic situation was compounded by the fact that Napoleon did not trust the local elites and appointed Frenchmen to key positions. Even his stepson, Viceroy Eugene Beauharnais, faced limitations in his independent decisions. The Italian bureaucracy was forced to maneuver between the interests of the emperor and the needs of the country, but it failed to achieve significant success in protecting the national economy.

It turned out that the kingdom was making ends meet. But looking at the figures of the expenditure items, you can see how little the interests of the kingdom were taken into account. In 1812, of the 144 million total expenditures, more than half went to the

army (46 million lire) and to the French Imperial treasury (30 million lire) in the form of a direct contribution. Then 77 million lire were used to pay and repay debts.<sup>339</sup> The bloody and ruinous war of 1813, which was also fought on the territory of the kingdom, crippled the royal finances. By the middle of October 1813, the state of the Italian Treasury turned out to be impoverished, and there was nothing with which to cover ordinary expenses. The Quartermaster suspended its operations due to complete monetary exhaustion.

Thus, Napoleon's influence on Italy was twofold. On the one hand, he contributed to the administrative development and modernization of certain spheres of life, on the other, he turned Italy into a resource base for France, causing significant damage to its economy. Control over the region was strict and aimed at ensuring the interests of the empire, not the Italian people. As a result, after the defeat of Napoleon, Italy turned out to be weakened, ruined, and unprepared for independent existence as a single state, which further complicated its path to national unification.

### *7.2.2 The Italian Population at the Beginning of the 19th Century*

The borders of the country changed during the Napoleonic reign, and different figures are shown in different years. In 1803, there were 3.8 million people in Italy, in 1806, after the annexation of the Venetian region, more than 5.3 million people. The Austerlitz campaign and the Peace of Presburg thus played a huge role in the life of the Kingdom of Italy. The provinces seized from Austria after the War of 1805 – Venice, Padua, Vicenza, Treviso, Udine, Belluno, Feltre, Cadore, and Istria) became part of the Kingdom of Italy in 1806 and were divided into seven departments: Adriatic, Brenta, Bacchiglione, Tagliamento, Piave, Passeriano, and Istria. Dalmatia retained its provincial title.<sup>340</sup> In 1810, Dalmatia and the department of Istria were torn away by Napoleon from the kingdom and became part of the "Illyrian Provinces" annexed to France, but the remaining possessions, taken from Austria in 1805, remained until the end of the Napoleonic reign as part of the Kingdom of Italy. The kingdom made new acquisitions in 1808, during an era of escalating quarrels between the pope and the

<sup>339</sup> Vissani, 1998.

<sup>340</sup> Candéforo, 1979.

emperor. Before the war of 1805, the kingdom occupied 7,416 square miles and had 3.8 million inhabitants. After this war, it numbered 3,916 square miles and 5.3 million, the inhabitants, since the Venetian region and other lands annexed by the Presburg Peace to Italy occupied 1,500 square meters. It had 1.5 million inhabitants, including those from Istria, Dalmatia, and the district of Cattaro.<sup>31</sup> In the spring of 1808, Napoleon formally detached four provinces (Urbino, Macerata, Ancona, and Fermo), from the papal possessions and annexed them to his Kingdom of Italy. Dad complained about it, but the connection was withheld. However, it was possible to establish exactly how much the population of the kingdom increased from this. These provinces, according to the decree of the Emperor dated April 2, 1808, formed three new departments of the Kingdom of Italy: Musone, Metauro, and Tronto.

In the Kingdom of Italy, counting Istria and Dalmatia, at the end of 1809, according to official data, there were already 6.53 million people; in Istria and Dalmatia together, there were 3.45 million people.<sup>32</sup> Further, according to the "treaty" concluded by Napoleon with the Bavarian king on February 28, 1810, the Bavarian king undertook to cede to the kingdom the areas bordering Italy in south Tyrol, and the population of these areas was to be 300 thousand souls. It is characteristic that the localities themselves were not named more precisely in the contract. They were only later more precisely delimited by Viceroy Eugene. But in the same year, 1810, the Kingdom of Italy suffered a severe blow. Napoleon took away part of its territory and annexed it to the Empire. In this regard, there was not the slightest sense of security or confidence in the future of Italy, which was entirely dependent on the whim of the emperor. He gave the Kingdom of Venice, Istria, and Dalmatia, and then suddenly tore off Istria and Dalmatia from Italy and annexed them to the French Empire.

It did not come to the destruction of the kingdom, but in 1810, Istria and Dalmatia were finally torn away from Italy and became part of the French Empire as part of the Illyrian provinces. For Italy, and especially for Venice, the loss of Istria, from where the kingdom received some food supplies, cheap salt, and abundant timber, was very sensitive. There was a murmur that reached the authorities. The Viceroy rather

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<sup>31</sup> Tarle, 1958.

<sup>32</sup> Candeloro, 1979.

persistently asked the Italians not to murmur against Napoleon. He also tried, by obviously concealing and distorting a very definite trend, to convince the Italians that they and the French were equally close and dear to Napoleon. Nevertheless, Napoleon wanted at first to partially reassure the Italian commercial and industrial circles of the loss of hopes for the annexation of the Illyrian provinces to the kingdom of Italy. The Imperial Government assumed the right to explain to the Italian Government that the Kingdom had benefited from what had happened. "His Majesty's acquisition of the Illyrian provinces has provided the Kingdom of Italy with a new and important market for the products of its soil and manufactures, but His Majesty's favor to his Italian subjects is not limited to this benefit," the French Minister of Foreign Affairs wrote to the Italian Minister of Finance in the spring of 1810.<sup>33</sup>

The commercial and industrial classes, as an important element of society, were also counted. The administration, which tried to keep accurate records of people of different professions for fiscal purposes, believed that in 1811 there were 225,4 thousand people in Italy engaged in "crafts or any branch of trade."<sup>34</sup> This figure shows an increase compared to the figure of 1810 (189,000 people), only partly explained by the fact that, for example, the Department of Adige was not yet included in the 1810 count.<sup>35</sup> This figure, who were supported by commercial and industrial labor as owners of commercial and industrial enterprises and owners of workshops, was quite significant for the population that was then listed in the kingdom. This did not include artisans who worked for sale and peasants who took jobs to their villages on order from one or another manufacturer.

*In conclusion,* it is necessary to note that the population of Italy in the early 19th century underwent significant changes under the influence of Napoleonic policies and territorial divisions. The most important factor determining the size of the population was the territorial changes that took place during the Napoleonic Wars. In 1803, the population was 3.8 million, but in 1806, after the annexation of the Venetian region and other territories, the population increased to 5.3 million. By 1809, the Kingdom of Italy

<sup>33</sup> Page 1952b

<sup>34</sup> Candeloro, 1979

<sup>35</sup> Tarle 1938

already included 6.53 million people, which indicates large-scale administrative and demographic transformations.

One of the key moments in the demographic history of Italy was the annexation of Venice, Padua, Vicenza, Treviso, Udine, Belluno, Feltre, Cadore, and Istria by the Peace of Presburg in 1805, which contributed to population growth. However, already in 1810 there was a significant change in the territorial composition of the kingdom. Dalmatia and the Department of Istria were transferred to the French Empire, which led to the loss of a significant part of the population. In addition to territorial changes, the internal development of the country, including economic activity and trade development, contributed to an increase in the number of people employed in industry and crafts. For example, by 1811 the number of people engaged in trade and crafts had increased to 225.4 thousand people, reflecting the gradual development of the kingdom's economic life.

The Napoleonic policy led not only to changes in the size and distribution of the population but also to social and economic transformations. The development of the commercial and industrial class contributed to a change in the social structure, however, in conditions of instability caused by constant changes in borders and administrative structure, the population experienced significant difficulties. The loss of Istria and Dalmatia caused discontent among the population, especially in Venice, which was economically dependent on these territories. This discontent indicates that the local population did not always perceive Napoleon's policy positively, despite the development of new trade relations and economic incentives.

In general, the demographic situation in Italy at the beginning of the 19th century was unstable and depended on the political decisions of Napoleon. Temporary acquisitions of new territories increased the kingdom's population, but equally sudden losses led to economic and social upheavals. Nevertheless, the growth in the number of people employed in industry and trade, as well as the development of new sales markets, indicate a gradual movement towards modernization and economic development, despite political instability and administrative changes. These changes laid the foundation for the further formation of Italy's national identity and economic development in the following decades.

### 7.3 Statistical Characteristics of Industries

The working class in Italy was politically voiceless. This largely explains the lack of interest in the workers on the part of the drafters of official documents. There were substantial complaints from the administration about the difficulty—sometimes even the inability—to accurately determine the number of workers. Enterprises, or ‘factories,’ turned out to be delivery offices. They gave orders to the surrounding peasants and received ready-made goods for sale from them. The answer to the requests of the authorities was often that ‘women in the village’ were spinning canvases and canvases. In 1809 the government tried to find out the number of workers employed in various industries in the department of Seno (administrative center—Bergamo). Merchants, manufacturers, and local authorities were in great difficulty. Meanwhile, this department, according to the authorities, was in some respects the most commercial and industrial in all of Italy.

It is difficult for scientists to determine exactly how many workers worked in the manufactory building and how many took work from home, to what extent artisanal village production participated in the total amount of manufactured goods. But some data on the number of workers who earned money in various manufactories of some important industries is available in the Milan archive. They can give an idea of the size of production and the average size of enterprises in individual departments. There were large manufactories in the wool-spinning and wool-weaving business. For example, in the Seno department, on average, there were about 160 workers per enterprise: 227 people in the Tagnamento, 450 people in Adige, about 1 000 people in Brent (15,200 people in 16 factories), there was one enterprise with 1,035 people in Olona, 355 people in Lario, almost 700 people per company employed in Baccoglione<sup>446</sup>. Obviously there were very large enterprises at that time, which could not be counted so much. These numbers indicated the number of workers who received jobs from the manufactories.

Now it is necessary to turn to the data on workers employed in a more important and significant industrial activity for the Kingdom of Italy. Both industrialists, when

<sup>446</sup> Tarle, 1958.



they gave their testimony about the number of workers employed in silk production, and the government when its representatives made general calculations to present them to the viceroy or the emperor usually counted spinners separately from weavers. In the most complete and thorough calculation, the Ministry of the Interior which compiled it counted the silk spinners, the number of silk weaving manufactories and the number of weavers employed in these manufactories.

In Italy raw silk was bred in the north, in the east, and partly in the south of the country. In some places, peasants had raw materials either on their land or in the immediate neighborhood, and therefore the main question in these departments was where to get the order and the material. An Italian spinner and his family worked in their village for an unidentified buyer for an unidentified silk-weaving manufactory which bought ready-made silk yarn from them for further processing into silk fabric. This means that the Italian peasant and his family were often engaged in silk spinning as a side trade. But when calculating in Italy it was very difficult to assign spinners to manufactories, and for each department, the total number of people involved in silk spinning was simply indicated. The archives contain calculations from 1806 to 1811. The number of people engaged in silk weaving in the Kingdom of Italy was 41,683 in 1806, 44,834 in 1807, 46,607 in 1808, 43,779 in 1809, 37,974 in 1810, and 32,050 in 1811.<sup>14</sup> We see steady growth in the first two years, a slight increase in 1808, and a continuous decline in the following years.

Silk manufactories in the Kingdom of Italy numbered from 499 in 1807 to 401 in 1811. The number of weavers employed in these manufactories ranged from 75,152 in 1806 to 14,274 in 1811. In departments where there was a huge development of silk weaving, silk weaving existed on a more modest scale, and vice versa. Here it is necessary to give examples, limiting ourselves to 1806. There were 4,509 spinners and 146 weavers in Upper Adige; in the department of Seno, there were 18,200 spinners and 160 weavers; there were 4,600 spinners and 33 weavers in Passariano. There were also departments where there were extremely few spinners but a huge number of weavers: there were only 222 spinners and 6,000 weavers in Agony; there were 40 spinners and

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<sup>14</sup> Pane, 1958.

3,010 weavers in Brenta, there were 122 spinners and 1,940 weavers in Olona<sup>345</sup>. The conclusion can be drawn that silkworm weaving was often designed for a rather distant, not neighboring market. This conclusion was supported by the scattered traces of the existence of merchants who bought silk yarn and transported it to those cities where silk weaving was developed.

Now it is necessary to turn to the analysis of information about spinners. Almost all of the silk-spinning business was concentrated in eight of Italy's 24 departments. In 1806, there were 42,933 silk spinners (Table 1).

Table 1. The number of silkworms in Italy's departments in 1806

Units	People
Serio (Bergamo)	18200
Adige (Verona)	6400
Passariano	4600
Alto Adige	4509
Bacchione (Vicenza)	3971
Meila (Brescia)	2542
Lario (Como)	1545
Reno (Bologna)	1203
Total	42933

Source: Central State Archive of Italy

Consequently, of the 44,683 silk spinners of the Kingdom of Italy, 42,933 lived in these eight departments, and only 1,750 people were scattered throughout the remaining 16 departments. This paltry figure is compiled by the departments of Rubicon (777 people), Tagliamento (276 people), Olona and Agogna (112 people each), Panaro (200 people), Crostolo (150 people), Mincio with the city of Mantua (127 people) and Adriatico (100 people)<sup>346</sup>. There were less than 50 in each in the rest.

These eight departments made up the area in the kingdom that produced the most silk cocoons. Sericulture and silk spinning turned out to be closely connected

<sup>345</sup> Pane, 1958.

<sup>346</sup> Turic, 1948.

geographically. The silk weaving business was not so connected with sericulture. But here you can see the concentration of almost all production in only seven departments. In 1806, there were 22,822 weavers employed in silk manufactories (Table 2).

Table 2. Distribution of employees in Italy's silk manufactories in 1806

Units	People
Agogna (Novara)	6000
Reno (Bologna)	4321
Brenta (Padua)	3010
Bacchiglione (Vicenza)	1000
Olona (Milano)	2940
Lario (Como)	2375
Adige (Verona)	1176
Total	22822

Source: Central State Archive of Italy

Consequently, almost the entire silk weaving industry was concentrated in these seven departments, and of the 23,152 weavers in the kingdom, there were only 2,330 people in the remaining 17 departments. Silk weaving, in complete contrast to silk spinning, tended towards big cities, old shopping malls, and well-traveled trade routes. The Italian silk industry sought to establish itself in such a way as to facilitate sales. If necessary, it is better to stay away from raw materials than from sales. Contemporaries found it difficult to identify silk spinners who worked in workshops, to associate them with various industrial establishments, and gave only numbers indicating the number of spinners. However, the situation was different with the weavers and other factory workers. The number of manufactories and the number of persons working in these manufactories are given. There are no comments about particularly large establishments, and generally no "individualization" that would allow us to judge the actual size of each of these establishments. However, this does not prevent us from establishing the average size of enterprises, as far as possible using a series of figures. In 1806, there were 489 silk weaving manufactories in the whole kingdom, employing 23,152 people, which

means that each manufactory had an average of about 52 workers.<sup>150</sup> The abundance of small workshops, which did not play a role in determining the size of the entire silk industry of the kingdom of Italy, made the figure determining the average number of workers per manufactory relatively low.

From the wool and silk industries, let us turn to the question of the number of workers in other branches of textile production. The yarn of flax, cotton and hemp and the weaving of fabrics from this yarn were widespread crafts in the kingdom of Italy, but rural, artisanal labor played a major role there. The documents did not indicate the number of enterprises in their general calculations but simply gave figures indicating the total number of spinners, spinners, and weavers by department. They give us an approximate idea of the number of people engaged in this branch of industrial activity. For analyzing, we take the year 1806 (Table 3).

Table 3. Distribution of spinners, spinners, and weavers by Italy's departments in 1806

Department	Number of Spinners	Number of Weavers
Adda	no data	474
Adige	no data	4,887
Adriatico	no data	1,200
Agogna	75	862
Alto Adige	no data	61
Alto Po	no data	15,008
Bacchiglione	no data	1,394
Brenta	4,680	5,081
Crostofo	18	32
Lario	no data	48
Meda	33,096	2,418
Metauro	11,531	11,254
Musone	00	40
Olona	130	19,871
Panaro	78	36

<sup>150</sup> Candeloro, 1979

Passariano	4,741	4,280
Reno	470	1,064
Rubicone		106
Sarno		1,260

Source: Central State Archive of Italy

There are no indications for the departments of Trento and Tagliamento

General calculations of this nature are available only for different branches of the textile industry. As for other branches of production, information about them relating to workers is much scantier and more random. In terms of its importance in the economic life of the kingdom, textile production was incomparably more important than all other branches of industrial activity.

In order to give a clearer picture of the Italian industria, enterprises of that time and their size, we will give an indicator of several of the most industrial departments of the kingdom. In the Reno Industrial department, almost all industrial activity was concentrated in the department's main city, Bologna.

1. In the foreground here was the production of velvet, silk gauzes, and fabrics. In 1809, 19 factories in Bologna were engaged in this, employing 397 men, 4350 women, and 416 children. On average, there were about 250 people working at each silk manufactory.

2. Six rope factories, five in Bologna and one in Minerbio. They employed 5,000 adult male workers, with an average of 833 people each.

3. There are 8 paper mills in the department, seven in Bologna and one in Panina, and they employ 600 people, with an average of 75 people each.

4. Production of terracotta and majolica products: seven manufactories, five of them in Bologna and two in the province, with a total of 200 workers, with an average of 79 people each.

5. There were two woollen manufactories in Bologna with 150 workers, with an average of 75 people each.

6. Two enterprises for the manufacture of canvases, both were listed in Bologna, but they were worked exclusively by peasant women in villages, 100 people each.

7 Production of liqueurs and liqueurs: 6 factories with 100 workers in Bologna and 4 ones with 20 workers in the province

8 Seven manufactories in Bologna produced leather goods, employing 100 workers, an average of 15 people each.

9 Four dyeing plants (three in Bologna, one in Imola) with 100 workers, both adults and children (25 people on average).

10 Eight hat workshops: 2 in Bologna and 6 in the province— with 55 adult workers and 18 children.

11 Seven chocolate factories in Bologna, employing a total of 78 people

12 Two soap factories in Bologna with 34 workers.

13 Twelve workshops for the manufacture of various oils with 40 workers in total.<sup>51</sup>

This was what almost everything in this department came down to in terms of industrial activities. Two important circumstances should be noted.

(1) Firstly, almost all industrial enterprises were concentrated in the main city, the largest and most populated in the department.

(2) Secondly, in the two most important industries that existed here, there were extremely large enterprises that earned an average of 833 and 750 workers.

If we take another industrial area of the country, located around the city of Vicenza, which included the towns and large villages of Valdagno, Arzignano, Schio, Marostica, Bassano, Crespano, Valdagno, that is, the entire territory that became part of the department of Bacquigne under Napoleon, we will see that here, too, the extremely developed silk industry strongly gravitated towards Vicenza, the largest city. In 1806, there were silk spinners in the department and a total of 6 934 people worked in the silk-weaving manufactories of the entire department of Bacquigne, of which 1 906 were in the manufactories of Vicenza. In 1807, the ratio became even brighter. A total of 6 461 people were employed in the silk industry, and the city of Vicenza accounted for 3 550 of them, or more than half. It is noteworthy that the figure for Vicenza has increased significantly. If we take the year 1808, we will see that although this time this figure has also decreased for Vicenza, the relative importance of Vicenza has become

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<sup>51</sup> Tarle, 1948

even more noticeable 5,661 people for the entire department, 3,170 people for Vicenza'. The silk industry in Vicenza itself turned out to be centered around four manufactories, two of which were extremely large

Silk weaving was followed by the production of linen fabrics and ribbons in the department. 15 manufactories were engaged in this industry employing 2,738 workers. The third production developed in the Department of Adige is wool. There were six woollen manufactories with 1883 workers. One factory had 1,000 workers, the others were medium-sized and had 300 and the two had 170 and 166 people each. The department's main industrial importance was limited to these three industries. There were nine rope workshops with 64 workers, seven tanneries with 52 workers, five coppersmiths who employed 31 workers, three hat shops, one paper workshop with 8 workers, and two wax mills<sup>353</sup>

The Department of Upper Adige was one of the relatively few industrial departments in the kingdom. The towns and villages of Trient, Calamò, Rovereto, and Mori were engaged in silk weaving: there were 3 workshops in Trient, 3 in Calamò, 40 in Rovereto, and 2 in Mori. All these establishments employed 7,500 people on a permanent basis.<sup>354</sup> Silk weaving here was in some decline due to difficulties in marketing and insufficient technical means. Silk weaving is the main manufacturing industry in the department. There were also silk dyeing factories in Triente, Rovereto, Bolzano, Borgo, Pergine, and Ala, but these establishments eked out a miserable existence. Due to the extraordinarily high cost of overseas substances needed for dyeing and the difficulties caused by the importation of cotton fabrics, these dyeing plants, where calico was also dyed, also suffered a heavy blow. The wool industry was completely absent from the department. 19 tanneries were in complete decline. The reason for this decline was the high tariff that blocked the import of leather goods from Italy to the French Empire. Iron-making workshops were also in decline. However, the manufacture of glass and crystal flourished. This prosperity was expressed in very modest numbers. 5 factories with 60 permanent workers in total but, most importantly,

<sup>353</sup> Luzzatto, 1964.

<sup>354</sup> Candeloro, 1979.

<sup>355</sup> Bernardi & Ganapina, 1996.

there were sales and work. And it was the accession to Italy which protected this industry from foreign competition, that contributed to its well-being.

The department of Mincio, with the cities of Mantua, Revere, Castiglione, Botsoia and others, was typical in terms of industrial development. The department had developed a leather business. There were fourteen tanneries, of which four were in Mantua. The largest of them had 15 workers, then 10, two had 8, eight had 5 and 4 people, and two had 3 people. There were nine workshops for making woolen hats, from 2 to 6 workers in each; 9 workshops for making silk and velvet, in one 9, from 7 to 5 workers in the rest. There are 11 vodka factories, one with 10 people, the others with 2-6 people. 4 candle factories had per 7 in one, 4 in the other, and 3 in each of the two. The remaining crafts were represented by 1-2 workshops for the entire department, which were equally insignificant in terms of the number of workers, and only two enterprises stood out in size: one ribbon manufactory in Mantua with 30 workers, and one paper mill with 50 workers. In general, the Mincio department was agricultural, and the population there had no inclination to industrial labor. The Mantua Chamber of Commerce agreed with the prefect in stating the decline of industrial activity. In the last place among the reasons that ruined the department's industry, the prefect put the blows inflicted by political circumstances, a decrease in capital, a decline in credit, and the inability to obtain the raw materials needed for some industries.

With the exception of the above-mentioned several departments, wherever the documents give an indicator of the number of workers in individual industrial enterprises and workshops, this number, for the most part, turned out to be negligible. For example, in the Department of Upper Po – in the cities of Cremona, Salsamaggiore, Lodi, and other cities – the number of workers in individual enterprises ranged between 3 and 20 and only in three cases reached 50-60 people (out of more than sixty establishments about which these indications are given). The department of Agogna has the main factories and manufactories: in Vigevano there are 24 silk manufactories with 1,200 workers, and one cotton manufactory with 300 people.<sup>36</sup>

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Barbagallo et al., 1995

<sup>36</sup> Barbagallo et al., 1995



If we exclude all branches of textile production, then most departments of the kingdom were more similar to the department of Mincio than, for example, to the departments of Reno, Bacchiglione or Adige. Small craft workshops, insignificant manufactories, modest delivery offices that gave orders to two or four dozen workers. These are general remarks about the prevailing forms and sizes of industrial labor organizations in the Kingdom of Italy under Napoleon.

*In conclusion* it is necessary to note that an analysis of the statistical characteristics of industries in 19th-century Italy shows the difficulty of determining the exact number of workers employed in various sectors. This is due to a lack of official data, difficulties in accounting for work performed outside of factories, as well as the large role of rural and artisanal production.

Basic information about workers is contained in archival documents, which provide data on the number of employees in various departments of Italy. In the wool industry large enterprises can be distinguished, the number of workers ranged from 160 to 1035 people. There was a division of labor in silk production, silk spinning was carried out in rural areas while silk weaving manufactories were concentrated in cities. The number of workers in silk production from 1806 to 1811 showed a downward trend, indicating a possible crisis or a change in the structure of production.

The textile industry occupied a leading position in the economy of the Kingdom of Italy. In the linen, cotton, and hemp industries, the main role was played by rural artisanal labor. Archival sources contain generalized information about the number of spinners and weavers by department but do not provide information about the number of enterprises. Thus, in some cases, it is difficult to estimate the average size of enterprises and the level of their mechanization.

Other industries, such as velvet production, papermaking, leather production, majolica, and terracotta products, were concentrated in large cities. In Bologna, for example, there were 19 silk factories, employing about 750 people each. There were also large rope manufactories, which employed an average of 833 people. These figures indicate the significant scale of individual enterprises.

From the analysis of data on various departments, it is possible to draw a conclusion about the territorial specialization of industry. Sericulture and silk spinning

were concentrated in rural areas, while silk weaving and other industries were concentrated in cities. This fact highlights the gap between the raw material production sites and the processing centers. The marketing of products remained an important factor: production tended to be located closer to shopping malls, even if this increased the distance from raw materials.

Thus, the statistical characteristics of the Italian industry of the 19th century reflect the complex structure of labor organization, in which large manufactories and small artisanal farms coexisted. The limited archival data makes it difficult to fully reconstruct the economic picture of that time, but the available information suggests the dominance of textile production, a high degree of decentralization of silk spinning, and the concentration of silk weaving in cities. These features determined the development of Italian industry and its adaptation to changing economic conditions.

## **7.4 Characteristics of Agriculture in the Kingdom**

### ***7.4.1 Italy's Agricultural Sectors in the 19th Century***

Most of the land in the north of the peninsula remained in the hands of large landowners and clergy before and after Napoleon. The peasantry did not significantly increase the area of their possessions. The peasant remained a small dependent tenant or farmhand. Only a few new people have enriched themselves and entered the landowner class. From the prevailing viewpoint, the lack of industrial activity in places where the land was sufficiently fertile should not have seemed surprising at all. It was considered an axiom that only the insufficiency or unsuitability of land for cultivation could force people to set up factories and work for them.

It is necessary to analyze whether the kingdom had enough of its own bread and what role agricultural and horticultural products played in its foreign trade. Given the poverty of data on agriculture: agriculture and cattle breeding, on the cultivation of fruit trees, and with the government's complete disregard for everything related to land and agriculture, the indications of trade balances on the state of import and export trade in grain, bread, fodder, herbs and vegetables, which Italy conducted in 1809–1810, are interesting, and the year 1812. These figures in lira are presented below (Table 4).

Table 4 Trade balance indicators on the state of import and export trade in grain bread, fodder herbs, and vegetables in Italy in 1809, 1810, and 1812

Year	Import of Grain Products and Vegetables	Export of Products	Preponderance of Export over Import
1809	259,005	14,258,440	13,999,434
1810	414,547	25,688,127	25,270,595
1812	3,070,337	34,234,004	31,163,667

Source: Central State Archive of Italy

We see a huge preponderance of exports over imports. However, both the preponderance and the total size of the cake turnover were still less than the indicators of sericulture and silk production. Nevertheless, the trade in grain products, herbs, and vegetables stood directly after sericulture and silk making. Interestingly, from 1809 to 1812 imports increased almost 17-fold, while exports increased only 2.5-fold. With the huge grain export trade, the kingdom itself sometimes lacked these products and had to import more and more of them from abroad.

According to testimony dating back to 1812 and explaining where bread was imported to Italy and where it was exported from Italy, it was imported from Germany or from Bavaria, in the amount of 290,000 lire, and from the Illyrian provinces, 2,780,000 lire. These two figures made up the total value of the importation. Italy did not receive bread from anywhere else. Neighboring Bavaria, which was almost entirely agricultural or pastoral but not industrial, could easily import grain into the kingdom, but Napoleon preferred that the kingdom of Italy buy everything he needed from the imperial possessions whenever possible. In this case, the closest imperial possession to Italy from where any amount of bread could be obtained, were the Illyrian provinces. Wool was brought from Puglia, which was rich in pastures. Agriculture in Apulia was at the lowest level of development, and we do not have any data that would allow us to even assume the possibility for it to conduct an export trade in grain. From the Illyrian provinces and from the Adriatic coast, the kingdom received almost ten times more grain

<sup>3</sup> Tarle, 1948

than from Bavaria, that is, 10 % of the total amount that was generally from abroad. In 1809, she ordered 759 000 lire worth of foreign grain. In 1810, when Illyria was already in Napoleon's hands, trade routes and administration in this area were not yet fully established, for 4.4 500 lire, in 1812 for 3 million lire and on 10 % from Illyria.<sup>58</sup> The comparative ease of transportation from a neighboring country and the cheapness of plentiful Oriental bread played a significant role in the rapid, sudden growth of Italian grain imports.

Regarding exports, France accounted for a quarter of the total grain exports. Napoleon saw the Kingdom of Italy as a reserve breadbasket for his Empire and therefore both the French and Italian governments did everything in their power to facilitate and make an agreement with French buyers profitable and convenient for Italian grain exporters. Switzerland was a country of extensive cattle breeding and the area of cultivation in it was relatively small. On the other hand, extremely developed industrial labor diverted labor forces from agriculture. The numbers indicating exports to the Illyrian provinces and the Ionian Islands were the most confusing. Rice, wheat, and vegetables are indicated in the explanation as export items. With the primitive horticultural culture on the Balkan Peninsula, the export of vegetables from Italy could be very extensive. Rice and good wheat varieties could also be exported to Illyria and further through Illyria in exchange for cheaper grain products obtained from there. Since the time they fell under the rule of Napoleon, the Ionian Islands have become a secure market for those goods that were not imported here from France. These included cereals, fodder herbs, and vegetables. There was also export to Germany, that is, to Bavaria. Significantly more cereals were imported there than were exported to Italy. Bavaria played the role of the breadbasket of West Germany in this era. The Italian bread was heading there from Bavaria. The insignificant figure of exports to the Kingdom of Naples shows once again that this agricultural and pastoral country did not need agricultural imports from the north of the peninsula.

It is characteristic that the French government and its agents throughout the Napoleonic reign pursued the idea that Italy was an exclusively agricultural country and distinguished from commercial and commercial countries. The Kingdom of Italy, as an

<sup>58</sup> Candeloro, 1979

exclusively agricultural country would be an entirely dependent colony on France politically and economically dependent. The kingdom was also supposed to be a huge reserve granary from where France could receive the necessary food in the event of a complete or partial crop failure. When Napoleon drew the viceroy's attention to the fact that grain products were being exported from the kingdom in too large quantities, Eugene understood this concern in such a way that the emperor was afraid that this bread would not leave his possessions and France would not lose its grain reserve. Therefore, in response to Napoleon's remarks, the Viceroy replied that he would take action. On the contrary, the emperor was never bothered by the thought that Italy itself might not have enough bread if there was a lot of it exported to France.

The grain harvest in 1808 and 1809 in the kingdom was excellent, and in 1810 it was worse. But bread, despite the huge export to France in 1810, was inexpensive at the beginning of 1810, and the Viceroy considered unnecessary any measures that hampered the export of grain products from the country. In Italy in this relatively less productive year, a quintal of wheat cost from 10 francs to 10 francs 67 centimes in July. September rye cost from 7 francs 43 centimes to 8 francs 39 centimes.<sup>359</sup> However, in November 1810 prices increased so much that the viceroy had to petition the emperor for restrictive measures against the export of bread from Italy. In mid-November bread in Milan cost 10 centesimos per pound, and the viceroy was afraid that it would soon reach 15 centesimos. He attributed this sudden deterioration to the speculations of grain merchants. However, the main reason was the huge export of grain to France. On the other hand, when there was a harvest in France, then in Italy the barns could be bursting with bread. Bread could completely drop in price, but it was allowed to be exported abroad only with the special permission of the emperor. The very permission was sought when it was clear that France did not need Italian bread in the near future.

It is worth noting that agriculture and agronomic culture in Italy in the first half of the 19th century were in a rather neglected state, and landowners complained about this. They pointed out that the government cares too much about industry and trade, which play a secondary role and spares no expense on them, but does not care about agriculture, that is, about the "main thing." The cultivation of the land is in decline in a

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<sup>359</sup> Pane, 1952a.

critical situation. However, despite the primitiveness of agricultural implements and the lack of widespread technical and agronomic knowledge in the Milan region and Lombardy, there was a very developed artificial irrigation, especially the canal network in Lombardy. There, the irrigation business was organized by special speculators. Having built a canal, they charged the owners of nearby estates a fee for using water which was delivered through special small channels. The whole organization shows that the business of artificial irrigation of the land was performed on a large scale and on purely capitalist principles. The old tradition has been preserved in Lombardy since the 15th century when there was some development of artificial irrigation.

Cattle breeding did not play the same role in the kingdom as agriculture. A number of areas of the kingdom needed both cattle and small ones. The onset of Napoleonic rule at first made supplies somewhat difficult for northern Italy. Before Napoleon, the lands that later became part of the Italian Republic bought a lot of small and large cattle in Piedmont, famous for its pastures. The Novara, Milan, and Bergamas regions were particularly in need of cattle. The mountainous north needed cattle less, as the alpine pastures were excellent. There was a particular need for working cattle for agriculture and the transportation of luggage, oxen, and horses. Cows and pigs were also discharged. The export of livestock from Italy was very limited. Mules, goats, sheep, and partly bulls, cows, and pigs were exported.

Consider the size of the import and export of livestock to Italy in lire (Table 5).

Table 5. The import and export of livestock to Italy in 1809, 1810, and 1812

Year	Import of Livestock	Export of Livestock	Preponderance of Export over Import
1809	1,009,267	2,014,577	799,164
1810	1,124,694	2,072,553	917,439
1812	1,441,300	1,065,107	1,334,828

Source: Central State Archive of Italy

Imports came from three locations and were distributed in 1812 as follows (Table 6).

Table 6 Distribution of livestock imports in 1812 in thousands of lire

Direction of Import	Volume of Import
France	6,050
Germany	4,200
Switzerland	4,170

Source: Central State Archive of Italy.

Only the three countries showed imported cattle to Italy. Most of these imports were made from France, as Piedmont was incorporated into the French Empire. It is from there that northern Italy has been accustomed to receiving cattle for a long time. Germany meant Bavaria, which was rich in large cattle, and the luxurious Swiss pastures supplied cattle not only to Italy but also to France and the Grand Duchy of Berg. As for the export of livestock from Italy, 2/3 of all went to France. Throughout the Napoleonic reign, Italian farmers in some places did not stop complaining about the shortage of livestock.

In some departments of the kingdom, for example, in the Sesto department, there were not enough cattle. Then he was discharged in large quantities from Switzerland. The lack of pastures in some western departments of the Kingdom of Italy forced residents to send flocks of sheep to graze in Piedmont. But since the French wool industry always needed cheap wool, the fleece of these sheep that found themselves on imperial territory was removed and sold there. At the same time, Italian wool workers and drapers lost. For example, the woolen manufactories that existed in Bergamo, for all their insignificance, had to order wool from Puglia, from the other end of the peninsula, although this wool cost them twice as much as the wool of local sheep, and the wool of local sheep remained almost all in Piedmont.

Cattle breeding was very common in the Crostolo department. In the main city of this department, in Reggio, weekly bazaars took place, where cattle were sold and bought in huge quantities; the amount of transactions these days reached 24 thousand francs. Up to 48,000 heads were exported from the department each year.<sup>160</sup> The export

<sup>160</sup> Candeleiro, 1979.

was intended for the kingdom and abroad. This department alone would have been enough cattle breeding for the entire kingdom, but the Crostolo cattle ranchers had competition. The Mantuan and Venetian regions imported cattle from Hungary. Napoleon did not expect that Italian cattle would be enough for work and consumption, so he imposed a minimum duty on imports from abroad to Italy. Hungarian cattle breeding, which was already flourishing at that time, took advantage of this. However, the export of livestock from Reggio and its district was extremely large. Tuscany, for example, bought huge quantities of calves and pigs in this market. More than 120,000 sheep, sheep, and goats and 60,800 pigs were exported from the department each year.<sup>35</sup>

The territory of the Department of Panaro before Napoleon was part of the Duchy of Modena, as well as the territory of the neighboring department of Crostolo. The two departments were similar in their economic characteristics. Cattle breeding was also developed in Panaro, and it was in first place in terms of its importance for the economic life of the population, but in comparison with the department of Crostolo, Panaro raised and exported much fewer livestock. In 1805-1806, it was estimated that the revenue of the population of this department from the sale of livestock was equal to 480 thousand francs annually. Sheep were bred in the mountains of the department, yielding low-quality wool, in the amount of about 60 thousand pounds per year.<sup>36</sup>

The Lower Po Department, which was primarily agricultural, had pastures and exported about 7,000 cattle per year.<sup>37</sup> The department of Reno, which included almost the entire Bologna region, also abounded in cattle. Already in the early years of Napoleon's reign, there was a definite tendency to reduce the area of pastures and expand rice culture, and this transformation progressed rapidly. Already in 1806, the population of the Bologna region was forced to register cattle from the rich departments of Crostolo and Panaro in relation to cattle breeding.

With the widespread development of cattle breeding in some departments, leather and tanning production could not need raw materials, and it had to be cheap. But during the reign of Napoleon, everything changed. Leather began to be exported in huge

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<sup>35</sup> Candeloro, 1979.

<sup>36</sup> V. Iani, 1998.

<sup>37</sup> V. Iani, 1998.



quantities to France and by the end of the era, it was no longer a question of how to improve the quality of production, but so that this production would survive. Italian industrialists asked the government to ban the export of raw leather from the kingdom. They pointed to the growing needs of the military department, which the leather industry is designed to meet. They pointed out that the kingdom needed to use the example of the Empire, which banned the export of raw leather. In general, the kingdom could not be called fully provided in terms of raw materials, not only necessary for the leather and tanning industry but also for woolen manufacturers.

Now, it is logical to characterize the wine-making and fruit-growing branches of agriculture. The region of Reggio was in lively commercial relations with neighboring Parma before Napoleon, and the wine trade played a serious role here. It was believed that up to 20,000 measures of wine were sent from Reggio to Parma every year. On average, about 400,000 francs were earned for this. But when Napoleon established customs between Parma, which was annexed to the Empire, and the kingdom of Italy, this trade was immediately cut short, as the duty on a measure of wine turned out to be more than the cost of the product itself. Winemaking was relatively widespread in the rich soil of the Mantua region. In 1805-1806, about 54,7 thousand barrels, or 47.9 million pints, of wine were produced there annually.<sup>64</sup> It is worth noting that Mantuan wine had to withstand serious competition from winemakers from the parts of the Apennine Peninsula annexed to the French Empire in neighboring departments.

Those parts of the kingdom of Italy that were not particularly rich in vineyards, such as Bologna and the Bologna region, received the most wine from Tuscany. The Tuscan wines were inferior in quality to the French but they were too expensive. When imported to Italy, they were subject to a duty of 3.5 francs per bottle, which made them a luxury item available only to the very wealthy. The duty imposed on Tuscan wines was 30%, and since the price itself was negligible, this duty did not seem burdensome. The French import of wines in some places had almost stopped by 1806. Winemaking was also widespread in the department of Upper Po. Some vodka production was also noted here. It was quite developed in the Guastalla and Reggio regions of the Cremona department. About 47,000 liters were exported annually from this department to

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<sup>64</sup> Villani, 1998.

others.<sup>165</sup> Vodka production was also quite important in the neighboring department of Pararo. Vodka production was further developed in the regions of Ferrara and Rovigo in the Department of Lower Po. Up to 5 000 quintals of vodka per year are exported from this department to other departments of the kingdom and abroad.

There is little precise indicator about the size of fruit growing and its special role in foreign trade. Lemons, oranges, and pine nuts from the Brescia region, especially from the coast of Lago di Garda, were exported in large quantities abroad, especially to Poland.

The "famous" sausage was exported from Bologna, Venice, and Modena and was widely sold not only in the kingdom but throughout the peninsula and beyond, especially in France. This production flourished most of all in Bologna. Of the dairy products, cheeses played an important role in the export trade, which were sold in large quantities to Russia, Austria through Trieste, Naples and the countries of the western Mediterranean coast through Livorno. Many varieties of cheese were consumed in the kingdom itself. Some fine varieties of Italian cheeses were highly appreciated in Europe at that time. The famous Parmesan cheese, which got its name from Parma, was actually produced not only in Parma but throughout the kingdom of Italy. There is even a suggestion that Parma was a commercial hub that bought these cheeses and then shipped them to different countries. The organization of the sale of these Parmesan cheeses changed already in the first years after the appearance of Napoleon in Italy. The fact is that this huge cheese-making was performed mainly in the locality of Lodi, in the Cremona region, which became part of the Department of Upper Po under Napoleon. Since Parma was annexed to the Empire and the customs border sharply divided both banks of the Po, the inhabitants of Lodi tried to dispense with the sale of cheeses without the mediation of Parma, which became too difficult and troublesome. They achieved this, and already in 1805 there was not a single trading house in Parma that would trade in cheese.<sup>166</sup> All this trade was concentrated in the towns and villages of Lodi. In Godoana alone, located between Lodi and Piacenza, there were forty trading houses

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<sup>165</sup> Tarle, 1946.

<sup>166</sup> Sereni, 1972.

exclusively engaged in the sale of cheese for a population of 7-8 thousand people<sup>36</sup>. Cheese-making was also widespread in the rest of the Cremona region, but cheaper and not as high-quality cheeses were produced there as in Lodi. These Cremona cheeses were easier to sell on the domestic market of the kingdom. It is worth noting that all the cheesemakers of these places constantly resorted to the purchase of Swiss cows. They were not able to achieve the improvement of foreign breeds they needed so much.

Fish was also mentioned in the general calculations of the trade balance. Fishing in a country with a long eastern coastline has been a great help to the coastal population. Ponds, swamps, and long tongues of sea dotted the entire coast of the Lower Po department adjacent to the Adriatic Sea. The whole coast was highly favorable for fishing, which flourished here. It was believed that the annual catch of fish in this area of the department yielded from 20 to 25 thousand quintals of fish, which were salted or marinated, and then most of it was exported from the department<sup>36b</sup>.

The annexation of Romagna, detached from the papal possessions, greatly lengthened the eastern coastal strip of the kingdom. Rimini supplied the entire Romagna with fish, and a lot of fish was exported from there to Bologna and the Bologna region. On the entire coast, only Rimini was important both as a fishing center and as a port.

Consider the forestry and fuel economy of the country. The north and center of the Apennine Peninsula are not rich in forests, but they were not rich already in the 19th century. The Kingdom of Italy bought almost as much timber and wood products abroad as it sent abroad. There is the data regarding the size of this import and export below (Table 7).

Table 7. Import and export of timber and wooden products in lire

Year	Import	Export
1809	1,235,567	980,446
1810	1,673,790	1,062,266
1812	1,071,738	1,232,538

Source: Central State Archive of Italy

<sup>36a</sup> Caracciolo, 1989

<sup>36b</sup> Barbagallo et al., 1995

Thus, in 1809 the preponderance of imports over exports was equal to 255 171 lire in 1810. 611 524 lire in 1812 the preponderance of exports over imports was already equal to only 160 8 thousand lire. Timber was imported to Italy from France, Austria, German countries and Switzerland.<sup>109</sup> In 1812 imports between these four places were divided in a specific ratio. The following table shows how much timber was imported to the Kingdom of Italy (Table 8).

Table 8 Volume of timber imported to the Kingdom of Italy in thousands of lire

Direction of Import	Volume of Import
France	324
Austria	70
Germany	450
Switzerland	210

Source: Central State Archive of Italy

The main role in these imports from all over Germany was played by neighboring wooded Bavaria. Almost all exports, 1 22 million lire, were sent to France (850 thousand lire), the Ionian Islands and the Illyrian provinces (370 thousand lire).<sup>110</sup> In particular there was a shortage of forest resources in those areas where metal,urgical, industries were developed and where, therefore, high fuel consumption was required. In the Bergamas region, deforestation was already beginning to be felt during the Austrian rule. The local metallurgy industry was concerned about finding sufficient and cheap fuel.

Italy was not rich in forests. Where forests grew they were ruthlessly predationally exterminated and bred. Interested persons complained about this, especially in the northern departments, where the densest and most extensive forests of Italy grew at the foot of the southern slopes of the Alpine Mountains in the 15th and 16th centuries. Back in the 18th century, there were a number of strict rules on forest

<sup>109</sup> Tarle, 1958

<sup>110</sup> Candeloro, 1979

protection, but in a troubled era when the country was changing hands, before the final establishment of Napoleonic rule here, these rules ceased to be observed, and Napoleon did not immediately restore them. Back in 1806, the predatory destruction of the forest continued. The forests were completely unprotected from goat herds, which caused the greatest devastation. What survived after the goats were cut down by people who did not take into account the age of the trees at all? All this was reflected in the quality of charcoal, which was so necessary precisely in the north, in places that abounded in iron and lead ore and, naturally, had access to metallurgical industries. The Media department alone consumed more than 120,000 measures of charcoal annually. Already in 1805-1806, the mountain forests of this department yielded only 195 thousand<sup>7</sup>. This amount was supposed to decrease rapidly in the future, although previously there was enough local charcoal. The iron-making industries of the Brescia region had to import coal from Istria, where it was mined, to make up for the missing amount. However, the transportation route was difficult, the costs were significant, and this fuel scarcity seriously threatened the entire ironworking industry.

In 1806, this scarcity of fuel threatened to completely paralyze the entire Italian metallurgy industry. The Brescia ironworking workshops suffered, the Cremona Cadolino shell factory suffered, which even temporarily interrupted work because of this, and other metallurgical establishments suffered. The plundering of forests and the accompanying depletion of charcoal forced metallurgists, especially, to think more and more about coal mining. There was no coal in the kingdom itself. Since 1806, the eyes of Italian industrialists have increasingly turned to the neighboring, southern part of Tyrol, which belonged to Bavaria. The owner of the Cremona factory, which manufactured artillery shells, Cadolino, discovered coal deposits in the Bavarian Tyrol, and was very eager to receive a concession for the development of these deposits. The Viceroy of Italy obtained this concession for him from the Bavarian king. The lack of fuel was one of the reasons why the Alpine metal mines of the kingdom under Napoleon (and for a long time after Napoleon) could not be systematically and fully utilized.

*In conclusion*, it is necessary to note that agriculture played a key role in the Italian economy in the first half of the 19th century, however, it was characterized by a

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<sup>77</sup> Barbagallo et al., 1995

number of problems and contradictions. Most of the land, especially in the north of Italy, remained in the hands of large landowners and the clergy. The peasantry, who made up the bulk of the population, did not have sufficient land plots and were dependent on landowners. The social and economic situation of the peasantry remained difficult, which hindered the development of agriculture and contributed to the preservation of traditional forms of management.

Italy had significant potential for grain production, as presented by the large volume of grain exports. However, dependence on grain imports from other regions, such as the Illyrian provinces, pointed to internal problems in the organization of agriculture. Despite the fact that Italy was a major exporter of grain, domestic consumption was often not fully satisfied, which led to the need for imports.

Cattle breeding played an important role in the Italian economy, providing the population with meat, milk and wool. However, the development of cattle breeding was uneven across regions, and some areas lacked livestock. Italy imported cattle from France, Germany and Switzerland, which indicates the insufficient development of its own production. Winemaking and fruit growing were traditionally developed branches of agriculture in Italy. Wines and fruits were in demand in both domestic and foreign markets. The development of winemaking and fruit growing contributed to the growth of exports and the strengthening of economic ties with other regions and countries.

Italy's forest resources were limited, which led to the need to import timber and other timber products. The lack of forest resources created problems for the development of metallurgical and other industries that required large amounts of fuel.

Italian agriculture in the first half of the 19th century was characterized by an extensive nature, low labor productivity, and the use of outdated technologies. Lack of investment in agricultural development, lack of qualified personnel, and weak government support hindered the modernization of the industry.

The Napoleonic rule and subsequent political changes had a contradictory impact on the development of agriculture. On the one hand, some reforms have been carried out aimed at improving governance and developing trade. On the other hand, wars and economic turmoil have had a negative impact on agriculture.

Tus. Italian agriculture in the first half of the 19th century was in a state of transition from traditional forms of management to more modern ones. Despite the presence of significant potential and individual successes in the development of some sectors, agriculture faced numerous problems that hindered its development. Solving these problems required an integrated approach, including land reform, technology modernization, investment attraction, and the creation of favorable conditions for agricultural development.

#### *7.4.2 The Role of Italy's Agriculture in Foreign Trade*

A number of important foreign trade items—products of winemaking, fruit growing, horticulture, and dairy farming—were included in a single column, edibles. These included products, lemons and oranges, fruits, white cheese, olive oil, fine and ordinary wines—all of these are listed as items imported into Italy. Export items were cow's oil, corned beef, local cheese, some garden vegetables, lemons and oranges, fish, poultry, and ordinary wines. The Kingdom of Italy not only did not export olive oil abroad but also had to import it from Piedmont and Tuscany, which were annexed to the French Empire. The kingdom received lemons and oranges from the parts of the Apennine Peninsula annexed to the Empire, the Kingdom of Naples, and the countries of the Levant. Fine wines were named only among the items imported into Italy. If we compare both lists, we will see that more expensive goods were imported into the kingdom, while cheaper ones were exported. The general calculations of the "trade balance" show that the amount of exports also did not compensate for the relatively cheap exported goods; the balance in this column is reduced to a "liability" for the Kingdom of Italy.

French wines from the old and Transalpine annexed departments, olive oil, fruits, and cheese made the import figure large. All this could have been imported from the Kingdom of Naples. Fine wines were imported from the Levant countries. Cyprus, Samos, and other sweet Greek wines were especially popular. Mostly cheese came from Switzerland.

## 7.3 Formation of a New Italy's Trade Policy

### 7.3.1 Trade Relations with Leading European Countries

The ties that arose between the British and Lombardy in the 18th century did not break for a long time. During these years, the British continued to sell their goods in Italy. At the same time, they were very large buyers of raw materials produced by the kingdom, primarily raw silk, as well as grain products, wine, and some special local factories. In this capacity, the British played a larger role in the economic life of the kingdom than as importers who sold their goods in the kingdom. However, they were also powerful competitors of all continental merchants and manufacturers as importers.

Now, it is necessary to focus on some everyday circumstances that greatly facilitated the British conquest of the Italian market before Napoleon and the stubborn struggle against French competition under Napoleon. On their side were the cheapness and excellent quality of goods, the dominion of the seas, and the enormous size of the coastline of the entire Apennine Peninsula. The English commercial and industrial world, which was more monetary, accustomed to trade transactions in foreign and distant countries, and rich in experience and skills in capitalist business management, had many significant advantages in the fight against French importers, even where everything was done to facilitate the French victory, as in the kingdom of Italy. Napoleon waged a systematic struggle to oust the British from the market of the Italian Republic immediately after the dissolution of the Peace of Amiens. On June 4, 1803, a decree was issued in Milan declaring British goods located in Italy to be sequestered. On June 10, 1806, Napoleon banned the import of goods of "English origin." A number of different varieties of cotton fabrics, caucio, and other goods were recognized as goods of English origin. All these goods were declared to be of "English origin" unless they were imported from France with a French factory stamp and a certificate from the prefects. Other goods—knives, metal goods, watches, bleached and dyed linen, wool, and paper hats—were allowed into the kingdom only through certain Italian customs. Colonial goods were prohibited from being imported if their owners could not provide certificates from the French authorities on the non-English origin of these goods.



Informers received 5/6 of the fine and proceeds from the sale of confiscated goods, and 1/6 went to the treasury<sup>372</sup>.

On December 10, 1806, Napoleon's November general decree on the blockade of the British Isles was published in Italy. Judging by many signs, the sale of English goods in the kingdom was very difficult even before the blockade. The merchants of Milan subsequently convincingly argued to the authorities that they could not have British and colonial goods after the decrees of 1803, 1805, and 1806 that preceded the blockade. Long before the blockade, English sales in the kingdom became possible only through complex and expensive smuggling operations. It turned out to be much more difficult to stop or significantly reduce the purchase of Italian goods by the British. Napoleon did not pursue English exports from Italy with the same severity as English imports to Italy. Regarding some items of English export, such as wines and manufactured goods, he maintained a relatively tolerant point of view, which he later expressed on the issue of selling Dutch vodka to the British. The cessation of the sale of Italian goods to England could not contribute to the realization of the main task – the ruin of England. As for the export of raw silk from Italy to England, in the early years of Napoleon, French manufactories, still recovering from the revolutionary devastation, did not need raw silk from Italy, and Italian silk was sold in huge quantities to the British. The export of raw silk from the kingdom, while it was not yet prohibited, was technically a much easier undertaking than the import of English goods. It was also possible to export it in the early years of Napoleon, in the name of any recipient who could play the role of a figurehead from an English company.

Until the proclamation of the continental blockade, that is, until the very last months of 1806, the trade of the Kingdom of Italy with the British not only did not stop but did not even decrease. Almost all the raw silk harvested in 1805 still made its way to England. There were trading houses that were specifically engaged in buying raw silk throughout the kingdom, except for the British. The British made especially many such deals in Bologna and Bergamo. The Italian government, which was very sensitive to Napoleon's sentiments, did not consider it necessary to rage particularly against this disguised trade with the British, which enriched both the population and the treasury.

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<sup>372</sup> Landeforo, 1979.

with specie which was in such need. For example raw silk was mined in a very industrial northern region, the Serio department. For example, it was mined here less than in the neighboring department of Mella – only 197 thousand pounds per year<sup>108</sup>. However yarn in the Bergamo region turned out much better than in Brescia. The reputation of the Bergamo area in this regard was the loudest in the whole kingdom. Silk was imported to the Bergamas silk mills not only locally but also from Brescia and the Brescia region, from Crema, Cremona, and Como. This yarn was sold under the name “Bergamian”. At the beginning of 1806, there were up to 80 silk mills in Bergamo, which annually received up to 480 thousand pounds of silk.<sup>109</sup>

There were such special goods of the kingdom of Italy, which went in huge quantities to England, as long as any trade with it was possible. These included, for example straw hats, the production center of which was Boistana, and the region of Reggio in the department of Crostolo. A large manufactory of straw hats was formed in Reggio. The municipality of the city even gave entrepreneurs a loan of 60,000 francs for three years as an incentive. 700 workers worked there permanently and about 17,000 hats were sold annually. When trade with England ceased, these sales moved to France and production in Reggio did not suffer significantly. Besides Reggio, there was another large manufactory of the same specialty and small ones scattered throughout the department. These hats were in great fashion abroad. At the place of production, they cost about 4.5 lire apiece, and in England, they were sold for a guinea.

In addition to all these products and manufactures, many glass and crystal items, earthenware, majolica, and terracotta products were sold to England. Until the very end of 1806, until the decree on the blockade appeared, the kingdom's old trade relations with England were not severed, despite the fact that since the spring of 1803, these relations with subjects of the belaguerent power were “illegal” and had to be hidden from the authorities.

Trade relations with the German countries, with the central and northern parts of the continent, usually went through Bavaria, and Bavarian merchants played an active role, not Italian ones. However Bavaria actually played only the role of a transfer point. In a circular dated September 17, 1806, the Minister of Finance of the Kingdom of Italy

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<sup>108</sup> Tarle, 1958

asked all the prefects about the trade that their departments conducted with Bavaria, and about ways to increase the size of this trade. After receiving responses based on the testimony of local chambers of commerce, the Ministry compiled a summary of all these responses. Grain products, rice, flax and cheeses were exported from the department of Upper Po to Bavaria. There were raw silk, grain, and hemp from the Lower Po. Especially a lot of grain went to Tyrol, which was in particular need of it. Raw silk and silk fabrics were exported from the department of Iarno to Bavaria. Some of these goods were exported directly to Bavaria, while others were in transit to the Leipzig and Frankfurt fairs. This department was also a trade artery through which colonial goods from the ports of the kingdom moved to Germany. Apart from cheeses, lemons, rice, grain products, vegetables, hemp, flax, and raw silk in transit to Vienna, nothing was exported from the Mella department except linen yarn. The Mincio department conducted a very extensive trade with Bavaria in agricultural products, rice, cereals, hemp, and raw silk. Almost nothing was exported from the Panaro department to Bavaria, except for a large number of canvases and small iron goods.

It is actual to briefly consider the exports and partial imports of other departments.

(1) Only canvas from the Reno department.

(2) A small amount of raw silk was imported from the department of Clona, but fine linen, coarser canvases, Augsburg cloth, leather goods, wool carpets, watches, haberdashery goods, etc. were imported from there.

(3) Tyrol wines, vodka, dried chestnuts, rice from the department of Adda.

(4) A lot of silk fabrics, a small amount of raw silk and wine from the department of Passariano. There was some transit trade going through this department from Venice and Trieste to the north and the import of some small goods from Augsburg and Nuremberg.

(5) Various agricultural raw materials and raw silk, as well as silk yarn from the department of Tagliamento.

(6) Silk yarn, silk fabrics, silk ribbons from the department of Agony.

(7) Almost exclusively agricultural raw materials from the departments of Piave, Adige and Rubicon.

(8) Cloth from the Department of Sarno;

(9) Cloth from the Department of Brenia;

(10) The trade flow from the Adriatic Department to Bavaria was directed by two arms: on the one hand grain products, raw silk, wax, soap, glass and paints, on the other hand, tobacco, cotton, wines, liqueurs, colonial products and spices;

(11) Silk, silk yarn, broadcloths, straw hats, linen, hemp, and majolica products from the department of Bacchiglione.<sup>374</sup>

There were departments that had no trade relations with Bavaria at all.

The trade-in garnet products and beads attracted attention. Garnet stone in its raw form came from Persia and the Levant countries to Europe, passing through all Italian ports before the beginning of Napoleonic rule, then through Venice and Trieste, and after that only through Trieste. It was transported to the north of Germany, to Hamburg, where it was subjected to initial processing. From Hamburg, he traveled via Venice or Livorno to Cremona, where bracelets, rings, and especially beads were made from this already processed and polished garnet. These products were exported from Cremona for sale to German countries and Austria.

Switzerland also imported a lot to the kingdom, where industrial development was far ahead of Italy. Cloth, as well as calico and paper fabrics, and metal goods made up the assortment imported from Switzerland. The Swiss exported from the kingdom, first of all, raw silk, grain products, partly wax, and cheap wines. In addition to factories, Switzerland also supplied the kingdom partly with large cattle. Switzerland, of which Napoleon was the official protector, has long been asking for a reduction in the tariff on this basis, but without results. Back in 1802, the Government of the Italian Republic resolutely refused to lower the tariff rates for goods imported into Italy from Switzerland. Both the German southern countries and Switzerland were a transfer point for the sale of the main wealth of the Kingdom of Italy – silk, in Europe.

In addition to England, raw silk and silk yarn were exported from Italy to many other countries: Switzerland, Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Hanseatic cities. Milan was the center of Swiss purchases, while the raw silk destined for Switzerland was mainly sent to Basel. The trade of this product with Austria was hampered by the imposition of

<sup>374</sup> Vasilkov, 1973.

a huge duty on raw silk imported from Italy – 50%. Before the war of 1805 Austria hoped for sericulture which was quite widespread in Tyrol. This explained the prohibitive duty against Italian silk. But, having lost those parts of Tyrol that produced silk in the Presburg Peace, the Austrian Empire had to turn to Italy for this product again. As for Prussia, Russia, and those northern and eastern regions of Europe that received silk from the south through Hamburg, Bremen, and Lubeck, these countries had previously tried to import silk from Piedmont. But Napoleon, wishing to preserve the Piedmontese raw material for French manufactures, imposed an export duty of up to 3–4 francs per kilogram, which destroyed these exports, and since that time the northern and eastern European countries have extracted silk only from the kingdom.

Even before the blockade, the emperor tried to strike at the sale of German, Austrian, and Swiss goods in the kingdom, which were especially brisk on the Italian market. On June 10, 1806, Napoleon's decree followed, prohibiting the importation of cotton, wool, and some other manufactures into the kingdom, except for the French Empire. But at the same time – as a form of leniency – it was allowed to import for the last time those goods from “friendly to His Majesty” countries that were ordered within the first three days after the issuance of the aforementioned decree. This postponement was extended and precisely defined by the decree of September 30 according to which December 31, 1806, was set as the last day for the importation of foreign goods into Italy. Not only the loading and transportation of luggage but also industrial production in German countries was disrupted in the autumn of 1806 and partially resumed only by the very end of that year. However, even under these unfavorable conditions, by the beginning of 1807 more than one and a half thousand bales of goods from Germany had accumulated near the borders of the Kingdom of Italy. However, at the urgent request of the Milanese merchants and after representations from the Minister of Customs Lambertenga, the Viceroy granted another three-week delay for the import of these goods into Italy.

Let us now consider the relations of the Kingdom of Italy with France. Napoleon wanted to make the Kingdom of Italy a monopoly market for French industry, protected from competitors. The interests of French industry have always, without exception,

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<sup>375</sup> Candeloro, 1979.

prevailed over the interests of Italian industry. In the eyes of the imperial authorities, the slightest direct benefit to the imperial fiscal had to stand above the somehow understood interests of Italian national production. The Italian Minister Lambertenghi complained, for example, in a private conversation with an agent of the French Ministry of the Interior about this circumstance: The French customs office in Vercelli has confiscated paper fabrics imported from Switzerland as goods prohibited for importation into France. The confiscated materials were immediately sold at public auction in favor of the imperial treasury but with the obligation to immediately export it outside France. The materials were immediately smuggled across the border.

The preponderance of French imports into Italy over exports reached 19-20 million francs in 1805.<sup>56</sup> This "liability" of Italy has increased significantly since the annexation of Piedmont to France and was explained by the fact that the main products with which the kingdom could supply France were raw silk, rice, and hemp. Italy bought from France many of the factories it needed: fine cloth, the best grades of silk fabrics, woollen goods, hats, lace, watches, precious things, and jewelry, hardware, and haberdashery. France also needed Italian grain products. The export of grain products from Italy to France in 1805-1806 was still insignificant.

During these years, the Kingdom of Italy was in a decisive economic dependence on France. However, for its part, France did not promise Italy to acquire more from it than it had already acquired. With a single exception, in these early years of Napoleonic rule, we cannot provide documentary evidence of any successful struggle between Italian industry and French imports. On the eve of the revolution in Lombardy, the Venetian region, and other lands that became part of the Kingdom of Italy under Napoleon, hats manufactured in Lyon came true for a million livres. But by the time of the establishment of Napoleonic rule, this state of affairs had changed. A significant role in this decrease in French sales was played by the fact that numerous hat manufactories opened in the kingdom itself, with which it was difficult for the French to compete. Their export in 1806 was estimated at 100,000 francs. The French complained about the high duty levied by Italian customs: 18 francs for a dozen hats priced from 10 to 24 francs apiece. In addition to this fee, it was necessary to take into

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<sup>56</sup> *Tarife*, 1958.

account the overhead costs, which reached one franc apiece. All this together has enormously increased the price of French goods on the Italian market.

*In conclusion*, it is necessary to note that Italy's 19th-century trade relations with leading European countries developed in a complex geopolitical environment that included war, economic competition, and political restrictions. The most significant influences on Italian trade were Britain, France, the German states, Switzerland and Austria.

For a long time, England maintained active trade relations with Lombardy, acting both as an exporter of manufactured goods and as the main buyer of Italian raw materials, especially raw silk. English merchants had significant advantages over their continental competitors due to their financial strength, maritime dominance, and high-quality products. However, Napoleon took extensive measures to limit British influence by imposing strict import bans on British goods and imposing a continental blockade in 1806. Despite this, the export of Italian silk and other goods to England continued in hidden ways until the complete closure of sales channels.

France under Napoleon pursued a policy of protectionism, seeking to subordinate the Italian market to its economic interests. The French authorities tightly regulated trade, banning the import of British goods and restricting imports from other European countries, with the exception of their own French goods. At the same time, exports from Italy to France, especially agricultural products and textiles, remained significant.

The German states and Austria were important partners of Italy in the trade of agricultural raw materials and textiles. Bavaria served as the main intermediary through which Italian goods entered Central Europe. However, Napoleon's economic policy dealt a serious blow to Italy's trade relations with these countries by banning the import of German and Austrian goods into the kingdom. Nevertheless, demand for Italian silk, raw materials, and foodstuffs remained high, and trade was partially maintained through illegal channels.

Switzerland, despite its geographical location and relatively small size, played a significant role in Italian trade. She acted not only as a consumer of Italian goods but also as a transit point for their distribution to other European countries. However, Swiss

imports to Italy were subject to restrictions as local authorities sought to protect national production.

Thus, the trade relations of Italy in the 19th century with the leading European countries developed in conditions of constant economic and political changes. The Italian economy was closely linked to international markets, but it was dependent on the political situation, the protectionist measures of Napoleon, and the wars of that time. Despite the obstacles, Italy's trade relations with Britain, France, the German states, and Switzerland remained vital for its economic development.

### **7.5.2 Customs Organization**

The organization of customs in the kingdom of Italy was extremely similar to the French one, from which it was copied, but since the Italian tariff, at least in the early years of Napoleon, was not so high in Italy and at the same time so detailed, and there were no quibbles at the Italian customs as at the French customs, the fate of French importers in Italy was incomparably better than that of Italians in France. Even French officials had to agree that the imperial customs offices were unbearable for trade representatives and that the Kingdom of Italy stood much higher in this regard. The actions of the French customs border guards with Italy resembled outright robbery. According to confidential reports submitted to the imperial authorities, such practices directly encouraged smuggling. The main center of smuggling was located in the area of Novi and along the border of the kingdom and the former territory of the Ligurian Republic, or Genoa. Not content with the harassment of those persons who brought goods for inspection, the French customs officials, violating the declared freedom of commercial navigation on the Po River, arrested any cargo floating along the river under the pretext that the goods were of English origin and took this cargo to the customs premises.

The arbitrariness of the imperial customs officials operating on the borders of the Empire and Italy did not stop. For example, under the pretext that it was forbidden to export coins from the Empire, they searched travelers, took away their money and gave them a receipt in return. For example, at the Imperial customs office in Vercedi, customs



officials took away 18 Louis d'ors, or 360 francs, in gold from a traveler heading to Venice and issued a corresponding receipt.<sup>3</sup>

The activities of the customs authorities also significantly harmed the two leading fairs of the kingdom—Smugalia and Reggio. In May, at the end of the 18th century, Reggio hosted an annual fair which was necessary for the entire kingdom and neighboring regions of foreign lands. Before the establishment of Napoleon's rule, this fair enjoyed significant privileges: all goods brought to and taken away from the fair were exempt from import and export duties. Under Napoleon, these privileges were abolished, but the business was organized in such a way that goods brought to the fair from abroad paid a duty only if they remained within the kingdom. No duty was paid for them if they were sold at the fair for immediate export abroad. However, the room where such duty-free imported goods were to be stored was so small and unsuitable that importers hardly used it. Already in 1805–1806, the fair decreased so much that of the 85 warehouses that were filled in the good years, a small number remained.<sup>4</sup>

Parma and Piacenza, which were annexed to the Empire, were in a bad position. Since time immemorial, these areas have been a thoroughfare connecting the Bologna region with Milan and the northern parts of Lombardy. Meanwhile, the customs regulations established by the imperial government changed the established ancient trade route, pushing it back to the East. It has become more profitable to drive from north to south or from south to north through Mantua. The road turned out to be longer, but the path went all the way through Italian territory. Italian merchants suffered losses, but Parma and Piacenza suffered more from this trade route. As for the Kingdom of Italy, this change in the main trade route from north to south was very sensitive for Milan, Bergamo, Brescia, and Novara but had no consequences for the Venetian region and the eastern parts of the kingdom, which anyway did not need either Parma or Piacenza in their relations with the south.

Parma and the opposing parts of the kingdom were not helped much by the fact that part of the border between them was the Po River. The best navigable artery of the kingdom of Italy separated the kingdom in some part of its middle course from the

<sup>377</sup> Salvadori, 1990.

<sup>378</sup> Salvadori, 1990.

Parma region, which was annexed to the possessions of the French emperor. With no roads, which affected the kingdom, the river had great commercial importance connecting the extreme east of the kingdom with the extreme west. Realizing this, Napoleon issued a law proclaiming the freedom of commercial navigation on this river. However, in fact, merchant ships were under constant threat from Parma, that is, the imperial customs river police, who arrested them under any pretext. Based on what has been said, it is obvious that, in fact, the commercial importance of shipping on the Po was destroyed. In the same year, 1806, another decree was issued declaring the Po River to be "French property" before the Ticino flows into it, and all the islands located at the height of this place also belonged to France. Although the Italian General Customs Office complained, in the end, the kingdom came to terms with it.

The customs separation of Italy from Piedmont and the Genoa region placed an unusually heavy burden on the economic life of the kingdom. The customs barrier separating the Italian Republic from Piedmont, which became part of France, from Genoa, and the surrounding territory, which formed the Ligurian Republic, made itself felt from the first years of the consulate. Until then, everything was temporary and uncertain. It was only with the final establishment of Napoleon's rule that the customs began to function with full functionality. The new harsh regulations on the border that now separated Piedmont from Italy were particularly severe. For Italians and residents of Lombardy, Piedmont was still an area. The most painful reduction in relations with Piedmont was for the western part of the Italian Republic, the Novara region, or the department of Agogna. Italian archival documents state that as early as 1802, the trade exchange here was stopped. The western parts of the Italian region of Novara, the region of Vigevano, and others were rich in grain products, which were needed by the border districts of Piedmont. These parts of the Italian Republic needed Piedmontese wines, Piedmontese cattle, and rawhide skins for tanneries. These countries, created for close economic cooperation, have been accustomed to this for centuries. Now, it was immediate & necessary to put up with the complete breakdown of the entire economic structure. At first, all hopes were pinned on smuggling. The smugglers took over the free exchange.

The population of the western parts of the Italian Republic artificially separated from Piedmont dreamed of barter. Agriculture prevailed in the west of the republic while cattle breeding prevailed in the east of Piedmont, and the economic life of both regions, separated by a customs wall, was rather primitive. Volume One of the Continental Blockade states that Napoleon, at the height of the blockade, taking into account the fall in the exchange rate of the Russian ruble, designed the exchange trade of Russia with France through the mediation and participation of the French government.<sup>9</sup> Italian peasants, artisans, and small traders living on both sides of the Franco-Italian border had a similar desire. The motivation was simple: someone was stubbornly preventing the two regions, which had always lived in close economic communication, from continuing to trade. At first, mercantile ideas and reminiscences helped the Italian population understand the Napoleonic economic policy. There could be no talk of any experiments with a liberal customs policy or even temporary and local permits for barter and trade. The country was entering a period of its existence when the basic principle was to become an axiom for a long time: the economic benefits of Italy should be taken into account only where and when it does not contradict the economic benefits of France. It was not until September 1802 that the customs house separating Piedmont, which had long been conquered by Napoleon, from France was destroyed. This customs office was one of the most significant sources of confusion that hampered Italian trade.

*In conclusion*, it is necessary to note that the organization of the customs system in Italy in the 19th century was a reflection of the political and economic realities of that era, largely influenced by Napoleonic policies. Despite the fact that the Italian customs system was modeled on the French one, it was characterized by less rigor in the early years of Napoleon's reign. However, over time, trade barriers and customs restrictions have become increasingly noticeable for the Italian economy and the population.

The French customs regulations imposed on the borders of the Empire and Italy turned out to be extremely strict and, in fact, stimulated smuggling. The main centers of smuggling activity were located in the Nová region, as well as along the kingdom's border with the former Ligurian Republic. French customs officers, taking advantage of

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<sup>9</sup> Tarle, 1958.

their position, often arrested goods transported along the Po River under the pretext of their possible English origin. These measures caused significant damage to trade and hindered the normal development of economic ties within Italy and with its neighbors.

The restrictive measures imposed by the French administration had a negative impact on the functioning of fairs in Smugalia and Reggio. Before the arrival of Napoleon, these fairs enjoyed significant privileges, but after the establishment of Napoleonic rule, imported goods began to be subject to duties. Although there were some exemptions, in practice their implementation was extremely inefficient, which led to a sharp reduction in the number of participants and the volume of trade at these events.

An important aspect of the impact of customs policy on the Italian economy has been the change in traditional trade routes. Introducing new customs regulations in France has led to the decline of routes through Parma and Piacenza, previously key trade arteries. Merchants began to choose alternative routes, such as the route through Mantua, which negatively affected the economic development of regions that had previously been dependent on trade flows.

The Po River, despite its key importance for trade, has also become the object of strict control by the French customs authorities. Formally, Napoleon proclaimed the freedom of commercial navigation on this river, but in practice navigation faced numerous obstacles, including arrests of ships and arbitrary customs police. The introduction of a decree in 1806 declaring part of the Po River French property finally jeopardized trade relations between the western and eastern territories of the kingdom.

The customs division with Piedmont and the Genoa region has become particularly painful for the Italian economy. Historically, the economic ties between these regions have been disrupted, leading to a significant deterioration in the situation of producers and consumers of goods. The western parts of the Italian Republic were in dire need of supplies of Piedmontese cattle and rawhide, and the population of Piedmont was experiencing a shortage of grain products from Italy. Attempts to maintain trade relations through smuggling were inevitable, but they could not fully compensate for the damage caused by official customs policy.

Thus, the customs system of Italy in the 19th century, being strongly influenced by Napoleon's regime, led to serious economic consequences for the country. Customs

barriers, restrictions on traditional trade routes, the arbitrariness of officials and the destruction of historically established economic ties became important factors that slowed down the development of the Italian economy. Instead of promoting trade and economic prosperity in the region, Napoleon's customs policy contributed to the growth of discontent among merchants, artisans, and peasants, who were forced to look for workarounds to maintain their economic activities.

## 7.6 Economic Characteristics of Italian Seaside Towns

### 7.6.1 Merchant Shipping of the Kingdom of Italy

The comparative proximity of the sea from any point of the territory skills, centuries-old ties that facilitated commercial navigation, the length of the coastline, the presence of ports such as Venice, the proximity of ports such as Trieste, Genoa, and Livorno— all these are prerequisites that would force us to look for data to characterize the state of the difficult trade of the Apennine Peninsula. Even in the early years of his rule over Italy, Napoleon thought about the possibility of giving Italian trade access to the south, across the Mediterranean Sea, to Africa, and concluded an agreement with Tunisia that facilitated Italy's maritime trade with him. It was impossible to sail in any direction from Genoa, Venice, Ancona, or Trieste to fall into the hands of the British.

Not content with pursuing Italian long-distance navigation, the British also interfered with coastal navigation as much as possible, attacking Italian merchant ships sailing along the coast. They did this every time they opened the spring navigation. It was the consolidation of the British on the island of Malta that played a major role in establishing England's undisputable control over the trading activities of the ports of the Apennine Peninsula.

Maritime trade was registered in eight ports of the kingdom: Ancona, Fermo, Ferrara, Forlì, Macerata, Rimini, Udine, and Venice. Before Napoleon, Lombardy sold its products by sea and received its necessities through two ports: Genoa in the west and Venice in the east. With the death of the Genoese or Ligurian Republic, the Genoese maritime trade also perished. However, Genoa was economically undermined even before Napoleon destroyed its independence. By the beginning of Napoleon's second

invasion of northern Italy. Genoa and the whole of Liguria were completely ruined by forced loans from the French authorities and the continuous movement of troops through the territory of the Ligurian Republic. From 1797 to June 1800, France took 6.7 million lire in money from the Ligurian Republic and 78 million lire in supplies, not counting various indemnities, prolonged occupation, and all kinds of legal and extra-legal extortion. In 1799, the finances of the Ligurian Republic were in desperate straits. Annual revenues amounted to 4.65 million francs, and expenses were 13.75 million francs. This huge sum of expenses amounted to 8.4 million francs for the military and maritime ministries and 5.4 million francs for all other departments.<sup>360</sup> Military expenditures were almost entirely due to the maintenance of French detachments stationed in Genoa and near it, the arming of citizens, and the hiring of troops. Genoa was ruined even before its final annexation to France; it was finally ruined by the stubborn unwillingness of the French government to weaken customs regulations. Other Mediterranean and Adriatic ports lasted longer than Genoa. Napoleon decided the fate of this city: it was annexed to the French Empire. On June 4, 1805, an official deputation asked Napoleon to annex the city to the Empire. The emperor expected a lot from this acquisition, as the timber, hemp, tar, and iron of Italy arrived in Genoa. In the depths of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, an article was compiled that was supposed to explain to the Genoese the reason for Genoa's annexation to France: the decline of trade, pirate attacks on the shores, and the inability to withstand the struggle against the British. From that time on, Genoa's situation became extremely difficult. The British blocked imperial ports more carefully than ports dependent or semi-dependent on Napoleon and the Kingdom of Italy.

Italian merchants and industrialists had to find sales through Livorno, Ancona, Trieste, and Venice. Livorno belonged to Tuscany, which was annexed to the Empire. In documents dating back to 1809, there are claims that it was through this port that the kingdom's trade exchange with France and other powers took place. However, no such reviews existed in the last years of Napoleon's reign. The briskness of trade with Livorno was due to the coastal relations with the French coast. Papal Ancona was annexed to the kingdom in 1808, along with the surrounding regions of Romagna. The

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<sup>360</sup> Caracciolo, 1989.

population of the regions and cities of Ancona, Macerata, Urbino, and Fermo was 710,000 inhabitants and annually provided the treasury with 7-14 million lire.<sup>31</sup> These regions did not know the slightest export trade in manufactured goods. They exported bread and raw materials. Foreign trade was conducted exclusively with Trieste from where they received goods from German manufacturers. With the annexation of these regions to the Kingdom of Italy and Trieste in 1809 to the French Empire, this trade declined significantly. The same can be said about other Adriatic ports. Harbors like Ferrara and Rimini were closely dependent on trade relations with Trieste and Venice.

*In conclusion*, it is necessary to note that the merchant shipping of the Kingdom of Italy in the 19th century was influenced by many factors, among which the geographical location, political changes and external pressure from the leading maritime powers played a key role.

The length of the coastline, the presence of large ports such as Venice, Genoa, and Livorno, and the proximity of strategically important trade hubs such as Trieste, created significant prerequisites for active maritime exchange. However, the development of trade faced serious obstacles, the main of which were geopolitical instability, the effects of the Napoleonic Wars, and the dominance of the British navy in the Mediterranean.

Napoleon's reforms aimed at integrating the Italian economy into the structure of the French Empire, on the one hand, opened up new trade opportunities, but on the other they aggravated dependence on French interests and led to the destruction of the economic infrastructure. Genoa, one of Italy's most important maritime trading capitals, was in decline long before the final annexation to France, due to financial exhaustion, military spending, and Napoleon's harsh policy regarding customs barriers. The blockade by England further complicated the situation, blocking traditional trade routes.

As a result, Italian merchants had to look for alternative routes to sell goods using other ports such as Livorno, Ancona, Trieste, and Venice. However, even these harbors experienced significant difficulties, especially after the incorporation of Trieste into the French Empire in 1809, which led to a reduction in foreign trade. The Adriatic ports, including Ferrara and Rimini, depended on economic ties with Trieste and Venice, but

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<sup>31</sup> Tarle, 1958.

their trade weakened significantly due to international conflicts and economic instability in the region.

Thus, Italy's maritime trade in the 19th century presented a complex and contradictory picture. Despite favorable natural conditions and historical traditions of navigation, constant wars, occupations, and economic sanctions hindered the development of trade relations. Britain's control over the Mediterranean, Napoleonic politics, and internal disorganization were the main factors limiting the potential of Italian navigation during this period.

### **7.6.2 Trieste as a Major Industrial Center of the Region**

Prior to the changes made by Napoleon in the Apennine Peninsula, Trieste maintained trade relations with the coast of the peninsula and the surrounding areas. Through Trieste, more was exported to Italian ports than was imported from those ports. In the trade balance of the port of Trieste, the preponderance of exports over imports was estimated at 3 million francs relative to Nice and Genoa, and 9 million compared to other ports of the Apennine Peninsula<sup>25</sup>. However, Trieste was of grave commercial importance only as long as it belonged to Austria. Austrian grain, various agricultural raw materials, and iron goods were shipped from Austria through the port of Trieste. After Napoleon seized power over the entire Apennine Peninsula, Trieste also lost its former importance for Austria, since the ports with which it traded fell into the hands of Napoleon, and further trade with them already depended on the will of the French emperor. Under Austrian rule, Trieste enjoyed some privileges. For many imported goods and colonial products, a lower duty was paid, compared with the general Austrian tariff. Therefore, in the early years of Napoleon, the kingdom received colonial goods from Trieste, where they were cheaper. Another port from where these goods were in transit to the kingdom was Genoa. However, those goods for which the whole imperial French duty was paid were more expensive than the Trieste ones. The annexation of Trieste to the French Empire and Napoleon's increased persecution of colonial goods completely exhausted Trieste's exports to Italy. However, in the early years of the Napoleon's rule, Trieste imported many colonial goods into the kingdom. When

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<sup>25</sup> Candeloro, 1979.



Lombardy and Venice belonged to Austria, the Trieste exporters also enjoyed another important privilege when importing from Trieste to the Lombard-Venetian regions, they paid only half the duty. Before Napoleon came to Italy, it was possible to apply to Trieste for colonial goods.

The separation of Venice and the Venetian region from Austria has already dealt a severe blow to the maritime trade of Trieste and trade relations between Trieste and Italy. Napoleon's war with Austria in 1809 was the beginning of the decline of Trieste's maritime trade, as Trieste maintained trade relations with the British. When the French army approached Trieste, panic arose among the merchants. More than 100 ships loaded with goods that were threatened with confiscation sailed to the open sea, under the escort and protection of the British flotilla. About 70 wealthy merchant families permanently emigrated from Trieste.<sup>30</sup> The regime of "great freedom of trade" of the era of Austrian rule was dealt a crushing blow. Napoleon ordered the confiscation of all colonial goods and "English origin" to be found in Trieste. The merchants of Trieste hoped that it would be to persons of Italian nationality that the Italian king Napoleon would eventually return the goods. Napoleon ordered the confiscated goods to be transported from Trieste to Venice, while British warships were cruising in the Adriatic Sea. The merchants of Trieste asked the chief Quartermaster to transport the goods overland. It was more expensive, so they took on all the transportation costs and deposited 10% of the value of the goods that were confiscated from them into the treasury. However, on February 9, 1810, Napoleon ordered by special decree to sell the goods confiscated in Trieste in favor of the treasury. Viceroy Eugene Beauharnais ordered 216,4 thousand francs to be paid to the affected entrepreneurs, but the treasurer, on whom it depended, refused to comply with the order.<sup>31</sup>

Among the forty thousand inhabitants of Trieste, merchants and seafarers set the tone. The Trieste population remained devoted to the Austrian government, which was explained by the city's economic interests. Prior to the subjugation of Napoleon, Trieste was open to British maritime trade and therefore enjoyed exceptional resources. He supplied forbidden English goods not only to Germany but also to Italy. This devotion

<sup>30</sup> V. Ilan, 1998.

<sup>31</sup> V. Ilan, 1998.

of Trieste to the Austrian government on the eve of annexation to France reached the point that the townspeople maintained a 2,000-man Landwehr detachment at their expense during Austria's struggle with Napoleon. At first after the conquest, Napoleonic officials tried to influence the Triestines to stop this démarche. They pointed out that during the time of Austrian rule, permission to trade with the British was not given to all, but only to some merchants. The administration, however, felt that it was difficult to try on a devastated city with instructions like this one. The city, which lived by sea trade and fell into the power of Napoleon, had to wither away. The administration tried to introduce *Porto franco* there, that is, to equalize Trieste with Venice, Ancona, and little Sinigaglia. By 1811-1812, Trieste, as a major center of the Adriatic maritime trade, was a ruined city. As a port in which the foreign trade of the Kingdom of Italy was interested, Trieste finally lost its importance in the last years of Napoleon.

*In conclusion*, it is necessary to note that Trieste experienced significant changes in the 19th century due to both internal economic processes and foreign policy factors. Until the outbreak of the Napoleonic Wars, the city remained an important trading center, actively interacting with Italian ports and supplying products from Austria. However, with the advent of Napoleon, its strategic position changed, which led to a gradual weakening of the city's trading position.

Austrian rule provided Trieste with certain economic privileges, including reduced duties on imported goods, which facilitated trade development. Trieste, due to its ties with the United Kingdom, was an important transit point for European countries, and its export activity significantly exceeded imports. However, the Napoleonic Wars, especially after 1809, destroyed this system. The French blockade and harsh measures against colonial goods deprived the city of its former importance, causing an economic crisis.

The confiscation of goods, the emigration of merchants, and the military threat led to panic among the population. The city, which had previously flourished due to maritime trade, was rapidly declining. The French authorities tried reviving economic life by introducing *porto franco*, but this could not compensate for the losses caused by severing ties with Great Britain and Austria. By 1811-1812, Trieste had actually lost its role as a key center of the Adriatic Sea trade.

Thus, the fate of Trieste in the 19th century was closely linked to the geopolitical changes in Europe. The wars and the change of power had a catastrophic impact on its economic development. Eventually, the city was devastated, losing the privileges it had enjoyed under Austria, and its commercial importance was minimized by the end of the Napoleonic era. These events became a significant turning point in the history of Trieste, determining its future fate in the 19th century.

### 7.6.3 Venetian Maritime Administration and Trade

Now, it is actually to move on to another major Adriatic port, which from the end of 1805 actually, and from the spring of 1806 formally belonged to the Kingdom of Italy—to Venice. About three hundred years before the Napoleonic era, Venice's economic policy began to turn towards industrial development. Industry began to occupy a relatively larger place in the city's economic life than before. Merchant shipping has ceased to be considered the main source of wealth for the population. Whereas in its heyday, the Venetian exchange had the artificial character of a monopoly, in the 18th century it took the form of a normal rivalry with the industrial countries of Europe in the quantity and cheapness of the products produced by the country. The political blows that Venice suffered in 1797 and 1805 affected its industry and maritime trade, which at that time was no longer the only, but still of great importance factor in its wealth<sup>245</sup>. The most severe blow was, in terms of economic consequences, the annexation of Venice to the Kingdom of Italy after Napoleon's war with Austria in 1805.

The first arrival of General Bonaparte destroyed the independence of the Venetian state, which had existed for 13 centuries. Napoleon and the Directory disposed of Venice as property, making it the object of compensation, which, for diplomatic reasons, was decided to reward the defeated Austria for the concessions made. Then, after eight years of rule by Austria, Venice was torn off again by Napoleon and at the end of 1805, after Austerlitz, it was annexed to the Kingdom of Italy. The complete passivity of Venice in all these fundamental changes in its fate and complete political impotence reinforced the idea of the hopeless economic insignificance of Venice. The Milan and Paris National Archives documents describe the state of Venice as follows:

<sup>245</sup> Nevler, 1978.

Venice had sufficient industry before the first arrival of General Bonaparte. As for trade, it had extensive dimensions up to the point of a political catastrophe. The Port of Venice lived an active life and relations between the south of Europe and the Turkish Levant were still following the old path, although not with the same intensity as before. Venice at the end of the 18th century

Venetian trade flourished during the era of the former republic. The wealth, the numerous Venetian trading posts established in the Levant and the Barbarian countries, and the flourishing state of its merchant fleet proved this. It declined significantly under Austrian rule. The sad consequences of Austrian rule were explained by the severity of taxes and the lack of "patronage and encouragement" from the Austrian authorities.

In February 1806, the Venetian Region, along with Istria, Dalmatia, and Albania, had 1.94 million inhabitants. According to the National Archives, there were about 122,000 people in Venice before the withdrawal to France, 159,000 in Dalmatia, 29,000 in Albania, 8,7500 in Istria, 48,000 on the islands, and the rest of the population lived in the Venetian region. The population of Istria at the time of its accession to the kingdom was about 106 thousand people, the population of Dalmatia was 220 thousand people and Venice and the surrounding territories had 1.35 million inhabitants. In total, according to the Presburg World, Italy gained a new population of 1.7 million people.<sup>86</sup> However, already in 1807 the government counted 160,000 inhabitants in Venice.

After the annexation of the Venetian lands, Napoleon became interested in the question of how much he could get from them. The revenues of the Republic of Venice on the eve of General Bonaparte's invasion in 1797 amounted to 8 million ducats or 32 million francs.<sup>88</sup> Those lands that were seized by Napoleon before 1805 and became part of the Italian Republic bore only 20% of the total taxation. The rest was provided by those parts of the former republic that, according to the Peace of Campoformio in 1797, went to Austria, and after Austerlitz, according to the Peace of Presburg, were taken away from Austria by Napoleon and annexed to the kingdom of Italy. In a purely fiscal sense, this ratio existed between the part of the Venetian possessions that Napoleon originally inherited and the one he received eight years later. These parts of

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<sup>86</sup> Nevler, 1978.

<sup>88</sup> Nevler, 1978.

the Venetian lands, which were actually annexed at the end of 1805, yielded about 75 million francs in 1796-1797. These were the last information available to Napoleon regarding the solvency of the possessions he conquered in 1805. At first, it was unknown how much the Austrians extracted during the years of their possession of Venice. However, according to further calculations, it turned out that the Austrian government received a net income of 8 million livres from the Venetian region, and under Napoleon, for the very first year, the estimate was drawn up so that 25.7 million livres, or 19.64 million French francs, were allocated to the treasury. But reality did not justify these plans. As a result, only 15.4 million were received, net income of 77 francs.

Regardless of the regular taxation, Napoleon imposed an indemnity of 5 million francs on the Venetian region after the conquest in 1805 and, moreover, ordered the viceroy to collect an indemnity of 7 million francs. Venice's maritime trade was quickly reduced to coasting to Trieste and back. In February 1806, 35 merchant ships loaded with various goods sailed from Venice to Trieste.<sup>58</sup> From the very first days of Napoleon's rule in Venice, Trieste's desire to conduct trade not with Venice but with Ancona, a port located much further south and, therefore, further from Trieste than Venice, was revealed. The dangers on the way from the British were more significant on this long journey, but the customs in Ancona charged less duty for the transit of goods, and the Trieste goods were designed not so much for the kingdom of Italy as for Rome, Naples, and Tuscany. The confusion and complexity of the transit tariff, which gave full scope to the arbitrariness of the customs authorities, and in fact greatly varied the amount of duty levied at different ports, turned out to be strong enough motives to change the direction of the Trieste transit and thereby cause new damage to both Venice and Bologna, through which goods unloaded in Venice and destined for the center and in the south of the peninsula, as well as for further export through the port of Livorno.

Searches for British goods and confiscation searches began. In Venice, the decrees on the expulsion of British goods, which preceded the November 1806 decree on the blockade, came into force later than in other places in Italy. Therefore, when the blockade was imposed, a lot of goods of English origin turned out. The Venetian merchants tried to sell them to Tuscany as soon as possible and at the cheapest price.

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<sup>58</sup> Nevler, 1978.

but the decree was initially poorly executed for various reasons. In Venice, according to 325 statements from merchants, goods of English origin turned out to be worth 16 million francs<sup>189</sup>. These goods turned out to be Italian property, and the Viceroy did not confiscate them. However, the authorities told Napoleon that as long as Trieste and Fiume were not in the hands of the emperor, the British would still transport everything they needed to Venice.

The customs terror began, so familiar in those days to all the ports that were under the rule of Napoleon. The French government argued that Venice had ultimately benefited from joining Italy, that it had become the best flower of the Italian crown, and that this was its natural position. They pointed out that sales from German countries did not go through Venice, even in those years when it was Austrian, and predicted that all eastern trade would fall into the hands of the Venetians.

Already in the first two years after Venice joined the Kingdom of Italy, the largest merchants of this city turned their capital into real estate and land holdings. Other large merchants liquidated their businesses, and many were just waiting for the completion of the liquidation that had already been undertaken to retire as well. Three trading houses went bankrupt<sup>190</sup>. The police, from whom these statements came, expressed the opinion that an excessively strict system on the part of Fisk agents contributed to this turn of affairs. She also noted the disappearance of the coin from these new departments, formed in 1805. Taxes in 1807 were three times higher than when Venice existed independently. Poverty reigned, and monasteries that had previously provided alms and food were now destroyed. The manufactories were inactive. Venice's involvement in the economic life of the vast Italian kingdom did little to compensate the city for all its losses. Back in 1807, the merchants of the kingdom were most willing to use not Venice but the Tuscan port city of Livorno in cases where they wanted to export large quantities of goods. The route through Livorno was considered the least unprofitable in such cases. This continued until Livorno finally fell into the hands of Napoleon. But even after this event, merchants considered that Livorno, which lay on the wide Mediterranean Sea,

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<sup>189</sup> Nevier, 1978.

<sup>190</sup> Bernardi & Crapanzani, 1996.

was more advantageously located than Venice which was located in the depths of the Adriatic Sea and therefore more carefully blocked by the British.

In 1797 when the Austrians occupied Istria and Dalmatia, Venice was buried. She got everything she needed to build a merchant fleet from Dalmatia, for the navy from Istria, and the crew needed for both the military and merchant fleets from both countries. Under these conditions, even before the Campoformio Peace, it was believed that Austria should take over Venice in order to give the city the opportunity to get everything it needed from Istria and Dalmatia again.

The Venetian port was widely known for its advanced shipbuilding. Shipbuilding flourished even in the Sunset era. Venice's reputation was very high in the 17th and 18th centuries. There were some economic conditions that, in addition to the professional traditional art of craftsmen, builders and ordinary workers, contributed to the prosperity of this business. In the first months after Venice's annexation to Italy, a huge commercial fleet of about a thousand ships in the port was owned by Venetian merchants. This fleet was temporarily immobilized, and the construction of new vessels was suspended. Commercial navigation in the north of the Adriatic Sea has not stopped but has declined. Shipbuilding suffered a terrible blow when Istria and Dalmatia were lost to Venice again by the will of the emperor who needed Istria as a necessary part of the Illyrian provinces.

In Venice and throughout Italy at that time, an extremely large amount of corned beef and salted fish was consumed. This caught the eye of those who, according to their duties, had to look closely at the economic life of the kingdom. The British held this branch of trade firmly in their hands until the end of 1805. In Italy, fish pickles were made in relatively small sizes, and corned beef was known only in English. Up to the end of 1805, the blockade did not interfere with this British trade: pickles were brought to Austrian Venice and, from there, under the guise of Austrian products, were sold in the kingdom. However, even before Austerlitz, in November 1805, the import of English pickles to Venice ceased.<sup>19</sup> The British refused this export. They began to use other ports of the peninsula: Livorno and Civita Vecchia, which was the main salary. Napoleon also dominated these ports, and it was necessary to transport goods under a

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<sup>19</sup> Nevier, 1978.

false brand or smuggled, but customs supervision was much weaker than in Venice. As a result, Venice lost both this cheap food and one of the most important items of its trade with the Kingdom.

*In conclusion*, it is necessary to note that in the 19th century, Venice experienced significant economic and political upheavals that significantly changed its maritime administration and trade. The Napoleonic Wars, the loss of independence and the incorporation of the city into the Kingdom of Italy led to a weakening of its former economic power. Although Venice's industry began to gain strength in the 18th century, maritime trade remained an important factor in its wealth. However, political changes, tax burden and changing trade routes led to the decline of the traditional Venetian merchant fleet and maritime navigation.

Austrian rule had a negative impact on the region's economy, as high taxes and lack of support from the authorities significantly weakened Venice's trade activity. After joining the Kingdom of Italy, Napoleon tried to maximize the new territories' benefits, increasing the tax burden and contributions. However, these measures proved to be excessive and did not lead to the expected financial result. Venice lost its role as a major trading center, and its trade was reduced mainly to coasting.

The customs restrictions imposed by the French authorities have further complicated the trade situation. The blockade of British goods caused significant changes in trade flows: goods that had previously passed through Venice began to be transported through other ports such as Livorno and Civita Vecchia. This deprived the city of important trading niches, such as the supply of corned beef and fish. In conditions of instability, Venetian merchants preferred to transfer their capital to real estate or liquidate their trading enterprises altogether.

Shipbuilding, which had previously been the pride of Venice, was also in crisis. The loss of Istria and Dalmatia deprived the city of crucial resources for building ships and provided an advantage to the Austrian ports. As a result, the Venetian fleet was temporarily paralyzed, and practically no new ships were built.

Thus, the 19th century became a period of significant economic challenges for Venice. Joining the Kingdom of Italy did not lead to the development of trade and navigation, but on the contrary, contributed to their weakening. Venice lost its position



in international trade and its economy entered a period of stagnation. Political instability, high taxes, and competition from other ports led to a significant reduction in maritime activity which finally consolidated the decline of its maritime administration and trade.

#### 7.6.4 *The State of Industry in Venice*

In this section, it is necessary to turn to the issue of the industrial activity of Venice. Industrially, such a city would have to suffer greatly from the endless war. Before the Napoleonic invasion, Venice traded briskly with the countries of the Levant, and most of the city's industrial establishments lived by this trade. From the countries of the East, Venice extracted cheap, sea-borne raw materials. The naval war destroyed the established foundations precisely when many Venetian goods had become absolutely necessary in the Levant. At the time of Venice's transition from Austria to the Kingdom of Italy, industrial activity still existed in the city on a fairly significant scale. In Venice, many jewelry and gold workshops and weaving establishments sold gold-woven silk fabrics and brocades to the cities of the Levant, Cairo, and Constantinople. Venetian establishments that produced woolen hats and coarse but very popular woolen fabrics in the East worked for the same distant export. These goods were valued more in the Turkish Levant than similar products that were made in Brescia, Bergamo, and the Bergamas region. Venice competed well with other regions of the Apennine peninsula in the manufacture of writing paper where this industry was developed, with Tuscany, Lucca, and Genoa, which tried to achieve the same degree of perfection in this matter. There was an ancient glass and crystal industry in the city. The Venetian glaziers knew no competition in the manufacture of glass beads and multicolored glass beads. This product is a very important item of the export trade conducted by Venice and was exported to India, Aleppo, and Cairo, and in times of peace also to Amsterdam and Lisbon. Beads and multicolored glass ornaments played an important role in exchange transactions between Europeans and aborigines in Africa, Australia, and the islands of the Pacific and Indian Oceans. For India, special mirrors and other objects were made in the mirror manufactories of Venice. Some medicines, medicines, and medicines were also exported to the East. From the east, mocha coffee

Cypriot wine, Smyrna, Thessaloniki, and Cypriot cotton, olive oil from Crete, Morea, Mytilene and other goods were imported to Venice. The extent to which this trade of Venice with the eastern and southern coasts of the Mediterranean Sea and even with more distant Persia and India was lively is evident from the fact that the most widely traded coins in all the countries of the Turkish Levant, in the Barbarian countries, in Persia and Hindustan were in the 18th and early 19th centuries, Venetian sequins. The coin was also minted in Venice. The trade of this coin and its exchange gave the Venetian merchants great profits. Venice's trade with the eastern countries was not limited to Venetian goods alone, even at the moment when the city was passing from Austria into the hands of Napoleon. Other people's goods were also sent east through Venice, which fed the city's commercial fleet. Building a fleet cost a lot of money but the merchant fleet was large. The owners of merchant ships were also often engaged in transporting goods belonging to Turkish merchants, this service was rewarded extremely generously. In this case, the Venetians had rivals in the person of French shipowners, as well as from Ragusa. Still, since Turkish merchants preferred the flag under which it was safer to travel, the French flag had to gradually disappear from the seas during Napoleon's protracted war with England. But as soon as Venice fell into the hands of Napoleon, her ships began to face the same danger as the French when meeting the British.

Glass, crystal, and mirror production on the island of Murano in Venice once fed three-quarters of the entire population of this island, which consisted of 8 000 inhabitants<sup>19</sup>. However, already in 1806, there was a slight decline in this production, but the pearl and pearl trade still persisted. The production of soap, bottles, jewelry, cloth, and dyeing, which was closely connected with textile production, was in decline. Silk production in Venice has been in decline since 1785 when the fashion for paper fabrics began. The war and the loss of independence have completely undermined this industry.

In September 1817, according to the testimony of the Venetian Chamber of Commerce, the primary industries that employed a significant number of workers were glassmaking, silk, wax making, soap making, rope making, woollen dyeing, sugar

<sup>19</sup> Nexler, 1978.

refining, white wine stone production, and shipbuilding. Of all these main crafts, glass and crystal, the famous Venetian production, stood in the first place, according to the chamber. But this particular production has lost a lot of its reputation in recent years, and overseas sales have stopped. The workers of Venice did not assimilate the technical improvements of the craft, which became known abroad. Woolen fishing was introduced to Venice relatively recently, but it held on. Silk production, according to the chamber, ranked second in the world after French production. The business of dyeing fabrics, closely related to silk and cloth production, was also solid. At the same time, Venice has always been placed in favorable conditions, thanks to the lively trade with the Levant and the opportunity to get paints from the East. Other listed crafts were also maintained. However, sales of all these goods were falling. Under the described conditions, it was natural that of all the cities of the peninsula, Venice treated Napoleon with the most significant irritation. Venice dreamed of becoming an independent state again. In 1809, during Napoleon's war with Austria, there was great unrest in the Venetian region, gangs roamed, and even insurgent groups formed.

The disastrous year 1813, which brought the war and the invasion of the enemy, dealt another terrible blow to the economic activity of Venice. During this period, only bankruptcies followed in Venice. Already, the spring was marked by the collapse of the Vivante trading house. This bankruptcy, with a liability of three million francs, led to many others. By the end of May, five new significant bankruptcies had broken out in Milan, Bologna, and Veneti.<sup>93</sup> A few months later, the Austrian army entered Venice. A description of the state of the kingdom's ports and maritime trade would be incomplete if we did not address the issue of licenses. When Napoleon began to grant licenses, first of all, merchants of Trieste, Livorno, and Genoa received them on the Apennine Peninsula but not Venice and no other ports of the kingdom of Italy. This went on for quite a long time. When Napoleon finally began to implement licenses into the system, he did not exclude Italians from the list of people who could count on it. They were able to export bread, cheese and some other products and trade with England or Malta on similar grounds as the French licentiates. These ships could sail from Venice or Ancona, but returning from England, they had to unload in Nantes and returning from

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<sup>93</sup> Nevier, 1978.

Malta – in Genoa, Toulon, or Marseille – that is, in an imperial, not an Italian port. The licentiates also exported silk and canvas from Italy. But before returning from the 1812 campaign, Napoleon instead sparingly issued licenses to Italian subjects.

In 1813, it was still possible to expect the termination or reduction of the issuance of licenses at any moment. In the spring, Napoleon ordered 40 licenses to be issued to the Kingdom of Italy so that they could be distributed between the ports of Venice and Ancona. Licentiates were allowed to import the rarest colonial dyes into the kingdom at that very moment. The Ministry of Finance believed that by such transportation of coloring substances by licentiate ships, the kingdom would be sufficiently supplied with these goods. However, when Napoleon began to give relatively generous licenses to Italians, it was the last year of his rule in the kingdom. This generosity did not have time to affect the economic condition of the Italian ports noticeably.

*In conclusion*, it is necessary to note that in the 19th century Venice's industry was going through a difficult and controversial period caused by foreign policy cataclysms, economic changes and the loss of traditional markets. Historically established crafts and industries such as jewelry, the production of gold-woven fabrics, woollen goods, and paper, and the famous glass and crystal production played a key role in the city's economic life. However, endless wars, the loss of independence, and the change of political regimes seriously impacted their development.

Before the Napoleonic invasion, Venice successfully traded with the Levant, which provided the local industry with the necessary raw materials, and its goods were in high demand. However, the war destroyed this established order, led to the decline of many industries, and weakened the export potential of the city. The textile industry, jewelry manufacturing, soap making, shipbuilding, and fabric dyeing were the most affected. The consequences were especially severe for silk production, which had been experiencing difficulties since the end of the 18th century due to changing fashion trends and competition.

Glass production, concentrated on the island of Murano, remained the most critical industry that retained its importance. It employed thousands of people and provided significant exports, especially to India, Aleppo, Cairo and African countries. Venetian glaziers were famous for their craftsmanship in the production of beads, glass

beads, mirrors, and jewelry but technological backwardness and lack of innovation gradually led to a decrease in their competitiveness in the world market.

Venice's economic crisis worsened in 1813 when the city faced massive bankruptcies of trading houses caused by the instability of the war years and the loss of sales markets. The restrictions imposed by Napoleon, and then the policies of Austria after 1814, further weakened Venice's trading position. The Napoleonic licensing system, although it allowed for some trade with England and Malta, could not compensate for losses from prolonged wars and blockades.

Thus, the industrial development of Venice in the 19th century was in constant crisis. Although some traditional crafts and industries persisted, and trade with the East continued, the city lost its former economic strength. Venice, once one of the largest shopping centers in Europe, has become a regional city dependent on external factors and political instability. In the future, Venice's industry could not reach its former heyday, giving way to other Italian cities that were more adapted to the changing conditions of world trade and industry.

## **7.7 General Characteristics of the Textile Industry during Napoleon's Rule**

### **7.7.1 General Characteristics of the Silk Industry**

From the previous material, we can see the huge role sericulture and silk weaving played in the era under review. In this section, we will try to give a more detailed description of the silk industry in Italy during the continental blockade.

Silk weaving was an older trade in the Apennine Peninsula than in France. Only since the second half of the 18th century, Lyon and other French and Italian manufactories began to overshadow the Italian silk industry both quantitatively and qualitatively. This rivalry continued until the revolution. When Lyon and other centers of French silk-making suffered during the revolution and production there temporarily fell, Lombard silk-makers intensively sold their goods in central and northern Europe. From 1807 to 1808, the number of workers and factories was almost the same as in 1806. It was only in 1809 that there was a noticeable deterioration. The following year, this deterioration took on a rather serious character, which became even more

pronounced in 1811 – the year of the Italian economic crisis. After a temporary slight increase in 1809, the situation returned to what it was in 1806, as shown below (Table 9).

Table 9 Changes in the number of manufactories in Italy in 1806–1809

Year	Quantity of Manufactories
1806	489
1807	499
1808	497
1809	484

Source: Central State Archive of Italy

In 1810, there was a sharp decrease – 44 manufactories have disappeared. In 1811, there was a new jump down to 401. If we consider the graph of the number of weavers, we will see that there was no temporary improvement in 1807–1808, since the number of workers from 1806 to 1809 did not cease to decrease. In 1807–1808, the number of small enterprises increased somewhat, while the overall situation deteriorated slightly. This deterioration became even more pronounced in 1809, and in 1810–1811, the sharp deterioration continued. In 1810, 3,396 fewer people worked than in 1809; in 1811, 2,694 fewer people worked than in the previous year.<sup>94</sup> Looking at the relevant statements by department, we find that large factories suffered the most from the crisis, that is, those three departments where, on average, there were more workers per factory. In the department of Agogna, where in 1806 there were 6,000 people, five years later there were 3,500, and of the 40 manufactories operating in 1806, only 25 survived. In the department of Bacchiglione, out of three thousand people, there were only 500 in 1810 and 400 a year later. The number of manufactories remained almost the same. In the department of Lario, the crisis broke out in 1811, and in that year, 1,078 people survived from 2,374 (1806) and 2,037 (1810), while the number of manufactories

<sup>94</sup> Caracciolo, 1989.

remained almost unchanged. In the department of Reno, of the 4 321 people who were in 1806, 2 660 remained in 1810, and 1 854 a year later.<sup>95</sup>

The crisis was not felt sharply in departments where insignificant figures represented the silk-weaving industry. The same can be said about those places where this production was not very large. In addition to the listed departments, the Department of Olona also belonged to this category. Of the 3 940 workers who were registered in 1806, 1,398 remained in 1811. Only in two departments has the situation remained almost stationary: in the department of Brenta and in the department of Adige. The crisis experienced by the kingdom's sericulture and silk industry in 1811, regarding foreign trade became even more pronounced. Raw materials were exported by 438,225 km worth 24 3 million lire less than in 1810, and silk fabrics were exported by 6 million lire less.<sup>96</sup> The Ministry of Finance of the Kingdom of Italy saw in this fact the consequences of the economic policy of the 'king' of Italy, who destroyed maritime sales and tried, in the name of French interests, to complicate and reduce the kingdom's trade with Germany and Switzerland, so that the Germans and Swiss, unable to import their goods into Italy. Thus, the main article of the Italian industry was in a critical position, and the only hope was for licenses.

Napoleon disrupted Italy's trade with Germany and Switzerland and the sale of Italian silk goods in northern Europe. It is actual to consider the results obtained by the Ministry of the Interior, which wanted to establish in mid-1811 the amount of silk exported from Italy in the first five months of 1811 compared with the first 5 months of 1810 (Table 10).

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<sup>95</sup> Candeloro 1979.

<sup>96</sup> Faslie, 1948.

Table 10. The statistics obtained by the Ministry of the Interior which wanted to establish in mid-1811 the amount of silk exported from Italy in the first five months of 1811 compared with the first 5 months of 1810 in thousands of lire

State	January		March		May	
	1810	1811	1810	1811	1810	1811
Switzerland	59,276	12,780	65,427	44,744	55,679	19,845
Germany	3,497	8,877	60,450	30,433	35,977	20,704
France	16,529	8,906	17,001	4,101	3,364	2,967
Illyria	341	759	65	253	573	42

Source: Central State Archive of Italy

A document supplementing the information about 1811 and 1812 gives some details. It is necessary to consider them. The leading indicators are provided by an official document drawn up by the kingdom's general customs administration. Exported from Italy in 1812 (Table 11).

Table 11. Statistics of export figures for some important goods from Italy

State	Raw Silk	Silk Strand	Dyed Silk Thread
Switzerland	3,15	159,653	1,155
Germany	4,697	170,092	88,707
France	0,797	264,978	3,451
Illyria	8,745	5,021	613

Source: Central State Archive of Italy

Despite Napoleon's efforts to provide raw silk and silk yarn produced in the kingdom for the exclusive use of French manufactories, he did not succeed completely. Switzerland and Germany exported more raw materials and yarn from Italy in 1812 than the French Empire without the Illyrian provinces. Illyria, which was annexed to the Empire, was important for Italian silk production and sericulture. This was explained by the fact that licentiatees and smugglers transported silk through Illyria to English Malta. This precious commodity was shipped from Malta to England, to London, Manchester and other silk-weaving manufactories for further processing.



Imports were limited to woven fabrics and silk yarn, while Italian exports included raw silk, combed and unwound silk, silk yarn, and silk fabrics. Combining all these disparate items into one column does not allow us to accurately determine the amount of exports of raw materials and silk manufactures. Almost all silk imports came from two places: for 2.5 million lire from France and 1.76 million lire from Germany.<sup>39</sup> These countries together accounted for 99% of production. Other documents indicate that raw silk and silk yarn have never been imported into the kingdom from France and German countries. Consequently, only silk fabrics and products made from silk fabrics were imported to Italy.

Now it is necessary to turn to the countries where exports of silk and silk goods from the Kingdom of Italy were sent in 1817 (Table 12).

Table 12 Statistics of Italian exports of silk and silk goods in thousands of lire in 1817

State	Volume of Export
France	16,870
Illyria	1,775
Austria	13,380
Germany	10,950
Switzerland	8,980
Malta	7,380

Source: Central State Archive of Italy

In total, this accounted for almost the entire export total. Most of the raw silk, combed silk and silk yarn were exported to France and Switzerland, as there was an independent and very active silk industry in these countries. Silk fabrics were also exported to the Illyrian provinces, and from there to the Levant countries, and raw materials and fabrics were exported to Austria, since silk making was not yet at a high level there. Under Germany, it is necessary to distinguish between individual countries united by an indefinite name. Such "Germany" as Saxony, the Kingdom of Westphalia, and Prussia sought to import raw materials and yarn, while Bavaria needed ready-made

<sup>39</sup> Vassini, 1998.

materials. It was exported through Germany to Eastern and Northern Europe: Russia, Poland, etc.

As for British Malta, trade which was possible exclusively through the intermediary of "licensed" merchants and shipowners, silk fabrics, and raw silk with silk yarn could be sold here. England and the English possessions probably bought both. The United Kingdom bought more raw materials and yarn than silk fabrics. The French licensees threw into the sea those silk fabrics that they were obliged to sell based on the license rules since the British would not let this product through anyway.

We have just reviewed that in 1810, 77 million lire worth of raw silk and silk mills were exported from the kingdom abroad. This sum is made up of two summands:

- (1) 15,734,340 lire from silk fabrics and products of all kinds,
- (2) 61,202,977 lire from raw silk<sup>296</sup>.

Thus, the preponderance of exports over imports in this general balance sheet item, amounting to 73.7 million francs, should mainly be attributed to sericulture. Before or after 1810 in the kingdom, during this entire era, there were no drastic changes in the field of silk production in terms of technology. Consequently, in other years, raw silk was exported for an amount several times greater than that of silk factories. In 1810 this ratio was 4:1.

*In conclusion*, it is necessary to note that The silk industry of the 19th century played a significant role in the economic development of several European countries, especially Italy. An analysis of historical data shows that during the period under review Italian sericulture and silk production experienced both flourishing periods and crises caused by political and economic factors.

Until the end of the 18th century, Italy was one of the leading centers of silk fabric production in Europe. However, since the second half of the 18th century, French manufactories, especially those of Lyon, began to dominate both in quality and volume of products. Nevertheless, with the beginning of the revolutionary upheavals in France, Italian manufacturers were able to expand their presence in the European market. During the period of the continental blockade, the Italian silk industry faced a number of difficulties, including restrictions on foreign trade and a decline in production.

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<sup>296</sup> Tarle, 1958.

Data on the number of factories and workers in Italy at the beginning of the 19th century confirm the existence of serious crisis phenomena. So, in 1806, there were 489 manufactories in the country, but by 1811 their number had decreased to 401. The number of workers also decreased significantly: in 1810 alone 3,396 jobs were lost, and another 2,694 in 1811. The crisis has particularly affected large manufactories in departments such as Agogna, Baccughione, Lario, and Reno. In contrast, small enterprises were less affected, which indicates some flexibility of small-scale production in the face of economic shocks.

Silk exports and imports have also undergone significant changes. At the beginning of the 19th century, Italy's foreign trade was severely limited by Napoleon's policy, which led to a decrease in the supply of raw silk and finished fabrics to the countries of Northern Europe. In 1811, the volume of silk exports to Germany and Switzerland declined sharply, which negatively affected the financial condition of the industry. At the same time, despite the Napoleonic restrictions, some of the products continued to enter the UK through Malta, using licensed and contraband trade.

An analysis of export data shows that the main destinations of Italian silk supplies in 1813 were France, the Illyrian provinces, the Austrian Empire, Germany, and Switzerland. Notably, the bulk of exports came from raw silk, which underlines its key role in the kingdom's economy. In 1810, the ratio of exports of raw materials to finished products was 4:1, which indicates the high dependence of the industry on foreign markets for processing silk raw materials.

To summarize, it can be noted that the Italian silk industry at the beginning of the 19th century was influenced by both internal and external factors. Political instability, economic sanctions, and restrictions on foreign trade have led to a decline in production and the number of workers. However, despite the crisis, the industry maintained its importance, and its products remained in demand on the international market. These processes reflected broader trends in the silk industry in 19th-century Europe, which was influenced by technological progress and geopolitical changes.

## 7.2 Regional Characteristics of the Industry

Now from the general data, it is necessary to turn to the characteristics of individual regions of Italy. We will try to determine in which areas of the kingdom sericulture and silk weaving were more widespread and what were the general conditions of sale.

The silk-spinning business in the kingdom was almost entirely concentrated in seven departments: Serio, Adige, Passariano, Upper Adige, Bacchiglione, Melia, Lario and Reno. Of the total number of silk spinners in the kingdom, the vast majority lived in these seven departments. The silk weaving business is also concentrated in only seven departments out of 23, in the departments of Agogna, Reno, Brenta, Bacchiglione, Orona, Lario and Adige. There were 22,8 thousand weavers in these departments out of the 25 thousand who were generally counted in the kingdom in 1806.<sup>39</sup>

Around 1805–1806, the average annual yield of silk cocoons in the Kingdom of Italy was about 10 million pounds<sup>40</sup>. However, the overall quality of the silk produced by the Kingdom of Italy was inferior to that of Piedmontese silk. In the Vigevano region in the west of the Kingdom of Italy, in the early years of Napoleonic rule, the manufacture of black and multicolored silk shawls flourished, which was exported to German countries. Such products were not produced in Lyon, so the product would have a very large market in France. However, Napoleon never favored importing silk manufactures from Italy to France and tried to prevent it. Silk producers in this area were very eager to stock up on Piedmontese silk, not their own. However, they had to abandon this as a result of measures taken by the emperor, who, not content with the high duty imposed a duty of 20 francs per pound on its imports to Italy.<sup>41</sup>

Most of the raw silk was mined in the department of Melia. In 1806, its annual fee was estimated at 500,000 pounds<sup>42</sup>. This silk was initially processed, twisted, and spun, and almost all of it was exported to Germany and then to England. The department had only 14,000 pounds left for the needs of its silk mill<sup>43</sup>. The department's silk mills

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<sup>39</sup> Tarle, 1958.

<sup>40</sup> Candeloro, 1979.

<sup>41</sup> Vivanti, 1998.

<sup>42</sup> Salvadori, 1990.

<sup>43</sup> Salvadori, 1990.

employed 2,542 workers, and the value of this export was almost 7 million lire per year. As for silk-weaving manufactories, there were very few of them. The department had only 80 machines working on manufacturing silk fabrics, producing 300,000 lire worth of goods per year. Silk stockings were made on 36 machines for the amount of 400 thousand lire per year, and silk fabrics for the amount of 106 thousand lire per year<sup>404</sup>. Here, we see a confirmation of the fact that the silk weaving business had little territorial connection with sericulture and silk spinning.

Raw silk was also mined in the Upper Po department. However, it was not processed locally but was completely exported from the department to the Kingdom and abroad, especially to Tuscany and Genoa. Sericulture in the Reggio region of the Crostolo department produced up to 30,000 pounds annually in 1805-1807<sup>405</sup>. Almost all of it was exported from the department. In the early years of the Napoleonic rule, the Department of Panaro was provided with sericulture of about 30 thousand pounds of raw silk, which was almost all exported without pre-processing outside the department. There were only five workshops in the entire department for unwinding cocoons and twisting silk. Up to 443,000 pounds of raw silk were harvested annually in the Reno department<sup>406</sup>. Before the proclamation of the continental blockade, the British managed to buy up a lot of Bologna cheese. The part of Romagna, which was torn away from the Ecclesiastical region by Napoleon and annexed to the Italian Republic, provided silk in abundance. This silk was not processed locally but exported to Bologna and the Bologna region; a lot of it went to Tuscany. Romanesque silk was also exported via the port of Ancona by sea abroad. This Ancona export went partly to Malta. The British did not stop actively buying up all the raw silk. The price of this Romanesque silk was about 17 francs per pound, and the export duty that was paid on exports from the Kingdom was equal in 1806 to 1 franc per pound. The Lower Po Department produced a large amount of silk but did not process it, so it exported up to 2,000 quintals annually. Silk weaving in the department of Lano was very developed. There were up to 48 large spinning mills. There were not only silk spinning mills but also silk-weaving workshops. Silk yarn

<sup>404</sup> Caracciolo, 1989.

<sup>405</sup> Tarle, 1958.

<sup>406</sup> Tarle, 1958.

twisted silk, and raw silk were exported from there to Switzerland, Germany, France, Austria, and England. The department produced up to 195 000 pounds of raw silk, and a pound was sold there for 23 75 lire. Only part of this silk was processed on-site, the rest was exported. The department had 1 545 silk spinners and 2 375 weavers working in 19 manufactories. The silk fabrics produced in the department of Lario were exported to German countries and to Russia, where they were highly valued. All these sales took place only through the fairs in Frankfurt and Leipzig. The department had 920 silk-weaving machines, which produced 9600 pieces of silk cloth annually, or 480 thousand cubits. All this was sold in Leipzig and Frankfurt and provided the department with 3 million lire annually<sup>407</sup>.

Milan's silk manufactories were as famous in the kingdom as those of Como. The colored silks of Milanese production stood out in particular. The exports from Milan abroad were very large. The goods from here were sent to German countries and to Russia. The Leipzig and Frankfurt fairs were also an indispensable transfer point for Milan silks. There were especially many satin fabrics coming to Russia from Milan. The Milan manufactories received coloring substances from Trieste until it fell into the hands of Napoleon and lost its former supply by sea from the English colonies, America, and Egypt. For all its general importance, Milan silk production was scattered across many small workshops. Only a few could be attributed to the larger ones. The Orsa and Pensa silk manufactory was considered the largest in Milan, where 600 machines were listed before Napoleon, and by 1806, only 160 remained. This manufactory consumes up to 40 thousand pounds of silk for 15 lire annually. There is also talk about the Piccola manufactory, which had 36 machines and consumed 9 thousand pounds of silk annually and about two manufactories, each of which operated 25 machines and consumed 8 thousand pounds of silk. In Milan, there were many machines for making silk stockings, scattered throughout the homes of artisans. And despite the absence of extensive manufactories, Milan exported silk goods worth 30 million lire annually<sup>408</sup>.

In 1806, there were 3 000 weavers in the entire department of Olona, working in 105 manufactories. Silk weaving was extremely poorly developed here and there were

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<sup>407</sup> Kolosov 1976.

<sup>408</sup> Kolosov 1976.

only 222 silk spinners in the entire department. The Bologna region produced medium-quality raw silk at a price of about 70 francs per pound. It was exported only 6 thousand pounds, for 120 thousand francs a year<sup>40</sup>. The rest of the silk harvest was processed locally. Raw silk was imported from Bologna and other parts of the kingdom. Silk production, in general, was an ancient trade in Bologna and the entire Bologna region. His specialty was the manufacture of silk crepe and silk gauze veils. For a long time Bologna did not know any rivals in this branch of silk production in Europe. A lot of this product was sold in France especially. However, transactions with France have stopped since the Lyon manufactories learned how to make gas crepe in the second half of the 18th century. Since the beginning of the Napoleonic era, when high duties on imported silk disrupted transactions between French merchants and Bolognese industrialists, such economic prospects have completely disappeared. In 1806, according to official estimates, 1 203 silk spinners worked in Bologna, and the adjacent department and there were 19 silk-weaving manufactories employing 4 321 people. As early as 1806, 13 manufactories were engaged in the production of silk crepe in Bologna<sup>41</sup>. Bologna continued to export this product to France under Napoleon. The duty charged by French customs was enormous, reaching up to 50% for some varieties. The Bolognese petitions to Napoleon to reduce this duty were crowned with success. The emperor reduced it by 2/3, from the previous amount to 6 francs apiece, but ordered that this product be transported to France exclusively through customs in Vercelli<sup>42</sup>. Since the annexation of Parma to the French Empire, the Bolognese have suddenly found themselves in a very difficult situation. Instead of transferring the goods through the nearest customs office, they had to take the crepe to far Vercelli, were cut off from the direct road to Milan, and were forced to take a long detour through Mantua.

A special silk crepe manufactory existed back in Modena. It was created twenty years before Napoleon. During the time of Napoleon, 200 workers worked there on 80 machines, and a thousand pieces of cloth were produced per year<sup>43</sup>. The goods were sent to the Levant countries. Almost exclusively local raw silk was processed. There

<sup>40</sup> Tarle, 1948.

<sup>41</sup> Candeloro, 1979.

<sup>42</sup> Candeloro, 1979.

<sup>43</sup> Barbagallo et al., 1995.

was also another small manufactory of silk fabrics and ribbons in Modena. In the Trentino region, sericulture and silk-making were not particularly noticeable for a long time, since Trent and the entire surrounding area, which formed the Department of the Upper Adige, were engaged in tobacco cultivation and processing and the sale of tobacco products locally and abroad before the French conquest. This was a very significant item in the budget of the local population, but after the conquest and introduction of the tobacco monopoly system in the kingdom, this industry was suppressed. Then sericulture and silk-making turned out to be more noticeable here. During the Napoleonic era, the department produced about one hundred thousand pounds of raw silk annually, from which about forty thousand pounds of silk yarn and woven silk were produced. The population of Trienta, Cadine, Callano, Roveredo, and Mori were engaged in silk weaving. The department had 25 silk-spinning enterprises with 2,500 workers. This ancient local fishery was dragging out a miserable existence at that time. Contemporaries attributed this circumstance to the difficulty of marketing, which was too much for the department to compete with Piedmontese and Bergamas production and the competition of neighboring Switzerland.

However, in reality, all these establishments were experiencing a severe decline. Previously, foreign silk and velvet fabrics were supplied for dyeing, as well as from Naples and the Ecclesiastical region. Under Napoleon, these establishments were doomed to almost complete inactivity due to the extraordinarily high cost and unavailability of the necessary raw materials and coloring substances. Langi's large dyeing plant in Roveredo was also trying to fight the inevitable fate. She dyed breached paper fabrics. When the region was ceded to the Kingdom of Italy, and the decree prohibiting the import of paper cloth from abroad, which had long been in force in Italy, was extended to it, this dye house lost its *raison d'être*.

This was the case in the early years of Napoleon's reign. As early as 1806, the French saw the Italian silk industry as a dangerous competitor in the struggle for the Italian domestic market. In Milan, Vigevano, Como, Bergamo, Brescia, Verona, Vicenza, and the Venetian region, there were a certain number of manufactories producing different varieties of silk fabrics, satins, taffeta, velvets, and silk shawls. In terms of their qualities, all these fabrics could not be compared with the Lyon



handicrafts. However, even in the early years of Napoleon's reign, the French silk industry struggled against the foreign market in Italy. According to the French, the Italians, without incurring any expenses, used various French inventions and improvements, new drawings that appeared in Lyon and Paris, and the expenses of French industrialists in this area were significant. The Italians also had so many raw materials that this alone made their silk production cheaper by 15% compared to the French. Finally, when Italian silk fabrics appeared on the domestic market, they were not burdened with import duties. However, paying these duties on French silk fabrics when imported into Italy made them more expensive by an average of 25%. The duty on gold-woven and silver-woven silk fabrics increased their cost by 12%. Overhead costs for packaging and transportation were estimated at 4% of the cost. So, on average, the rise in the price of French silk fabrics exported to the Italian market was approximately 30%.

*In conclusion*, studying the regional characteristics of the Italian industry in the 19th century reveals many interesting features related to the development of sericulture and silk production in different parts of the country. At that time, silk production was concentrated in certain areas where there were special conditions for its development, both in terms of natural factors and socio-economic conditions.

The main focus of sericulture was on the northern departments of Italy, such as Serio, Adige, Bacchiglione, and Mella, where the bulk of raw silk was produced. These regions are actively involved in international trade, exporting silk to Germany, England, and Russia, and other countries. However, despite the high productivity, the quality of Italian silk was often inferior to Piedmontese silk, which was valued higher in international markets.

Agriculture and industry in these regions were closely intertwined, which provided certain advantages in production processes. However, there were also problems: despite the production successes, the regions often faced sales difficulties due to difficult economic conditions and external competition, primarily from France. The Napoleonic duties, as well as the struggle for domestic and international markets, created additional obstacles for Italian manufacturers, while the French industry, despite its costs, remained competitive.

Special attention should be paid to departments where silk weaving developed in conditions of significant decline or insufficient competition. For example, in Bologna and Modena, despite the silk industry's historical importance, problems with external competition, such as lower demand for products and increased duties, limited the industry's further growth and development.

Thus, the Italian industry in the 19th century, especially sericulture, was largely dependent on the political and economic changes of that time. The stages of the rise and decline of Italian manufacturers indicate the importance of regional differences, internal competition, and the influence of foreign economic policy, which, in turn, determined the success or failure of individual regions in sectoral development.

### *2.7.3 General Characteristics of Wool and Cloth Production*

Wool production, more ancient in the north and in the center of the Apennine Peninsula than the silk industry, did not even remotely play the same role in the kingdom's export trade as silk production. But in the domestic market, Italian cloth making and producing cheap and coarse varieties of woollen fabrics were of great importance.

The kingdom's wool production was concentrated in the Bacchiglione, Reno, Brenta, Adige, Adriatic, and Tagliamento departments. There were about 79,000 workers in these departments who worked in woollen manufactories, while all the others combined employed only about 3,500 people<sup>4</sup>. The former Venetian regions were ahead of all other regions that became part of the Kingdom of Italy. If you believe the testimony of the documents, then you can see that any sharp decline in wool production did not accompany the proclamation of the blockade: during all the years of the blockade, the wool industry experienced neither a steep decline nor an upswing. To explain this fact, we can also cite the fact that, working more for the domestic market, Italian wool workers and drapers were relatively less dependent on the conditions in which Napoleon placed the kingdom's foreign trade.

Although the total number of workers in the kingdom engaged in wool production was not inferior to the total number of weavers and spinners engaged in silk production,

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<sup>4</sup> Tarle, 1958.

nevertheless, the role of the wool industry and the sale of wool in the kingdom's export trade could not be compared with the role of silk production and sericulture. In Europe at that time, raw silk could be obtained almost exclusively from the French Empire and Italy. However, since Napoleon opposed the export of precious raw materials from his Empire, it remained to be imported from Italy. And Italian silk fabrics, which were less needed in Europe, since Switzerland, Austria and German countries already had their own silk manufactories, nevertheless found a market. Inferior in quality to the French, Italian silk factories were no worse than Swiss or German ones. Few people needed Italian wool. The fine fleece was almost unknown there; the abundance of this raw material in the kingdom was not noticed. Austria and Saxony had wool of good quality and in sufficient quantity. England received fine wool from Spain. Italian wool workers and drapers thus worked most for the domestic market. There was also export, but with the relative cheapness of the exported goods, it did not play a big role.

Here is the trade balance for three years. The general state of imports and exports of wool and woollen fabrics and products is characterized by figures from 1809–1810, and 1812. During Napoleon's reign, Italy increasingly fell into the position of a tributary, dependent on imports, which increased rapidly while exports remained almost stationary. Looking at these figures, we can see that there were three importing countries and that wool and woollen fabrics were imported into the kingdom in 1812 (Table 13).

Table 13. Statistics of wool and woollen fabrics import into Italy in millions of lire in 1812

State	Volume of import
France	15,4
Kingdom of Naples	3,4
Levanti	1,65

Source: Central State Archive of Italy

It was imported from France for 15.4 million lire<sup>44</sup>. Based on previous evidence, we can say that, for the most part, this figure was created by the import of cloth and

<sup>44</sup> V. Lami, 1993.

woolen fabrics, that is, manufactured goods, not raw materials. The whole policy of Napoleon was aimed at this. In 1812 France alone imported as much of this product to Italy as in 1810 all countries combined, including France. As for the Neapolitan wool industry despite its poverty, it never tried to enter the market of the kingdom of Italy but Italy needed wool from Neapolitan herds since Spain became inaccessible due to the war, and Piedmont was closed by the will of Napoleon. Sheep roaming in Apulia provided the fleece, which was highly prized in the north of the Apennine Peninsula. This raw material created a figure of almost 4 million lire of imports from the Kingdom of Naples<sup>45</sup>. It is more difficult to speak about imports from the Levant, the European, Asian, and African parts of Turkey, often together with Persia and the Barbarian possessions in northern Africa. Italy and Venice willingly used wool obtained from Thessalonika and Syria. Trade with the Levant contributed to the penetration of Bohemian and even English manufactories into the kingdom. However, judging by the total number of Levantine imports, all this trade was insignificant.

Now it is actual to define the import trade in wool and woolen factories. The total figure for these exports was comparatively modest compared to the figure for imports. In 1812 the kingdom exported wool and woolen goods worth 4 million lire (Table 14).

Table 14 Statistics of wool and woolen fabrics exported into Italy in millions of lire in 1812

State	Volume of Import
France	1.35
Illyria	0.93
Levania	1.41

Source: Central State Archive of Italy

Exports to France consisted of wool, as it was precisely this devastation of the Italian raw material market that the kingdom's cloth makers complained about in the last years of Napoleon's reign. On the other hand, Italian cloth did not even try to compete with French cloth in the domestic imperial market during this entire era. Only

<sup>45</sup> Villani, 1998

cloth was exported to the Levant since the Levant countries did not need wool and supplied this raw material to Italy themselves. The cloth trade in the Levant was established by Venice. Woolen manufactures were imported to the Illyrian provinces and the Ioman Islands. These areas did not need wool, and their industry was extremely small.

These general calculations can be supplemented with explanations and characteristics of contemporaries who visited and studied Italy then, as well as some documentary evidence related to the fate of wool production in that period. The population of the northern part of Italy in the 18th century did not produce by their own means the amount of woolen fabrics that were necessary for clothing. Not only fine cloths but also coarse varieties of woolen fabrics were not enough for the common people. The missing woolen fabrics and broadcloths were received at the end of the 18th century from England, Austria, German countries, France, and the Netherlands, and Geneva served as one of the main transfer points. The most expensive fine cloth varieties were imported from the French cloth production centers of Louvier, Elbeuf, and Sedan, as well as from Bohemia, Saxony, Belgium, and the western part of Germany. Twill was delivered from Languedoc, Saxony, and other industrial places in Germany. Camlet and other light woolen fabrics were imported from Lille, Amiens, and Reims.

When the French Revolution came, and under the influence of the establishment of the law on the maximum, the production of fine cloth in France declined. Northern Italy began to receive these varieties from England. After the revolution, the sale of French fine cloth was not restored to its former size. Napoleon's conquest of Italy and his war with the British prevented the development of English trade in the kingdom. However, woolen goods from the middle and lower grades of Belgium, Bohemia, and Silesia flooded there. Goods coming from Bohemia and Silesia were sold very cheaply and spread widely among the Italian people.

This industry was ancient and stable in the north of the peninsula. Finer cloth-making already existed in some places in a developed form in Northern Italy in the 15th and 16th centuries. It held out before the onset of French rule in Lombardy and other areas that later became part of the Italian Republic. Already in the early years of

Napoleonic rule the presence and spread of cloth production in Bergamo, Brescia, Vicenza, and Verona can be noted. Cloth manufactories not only existed but also steadfastly held out in the struggle for the internal market of the kingdom of Italy against the stubborn and formidable competition of Austrian cloths from Moravia and Bohemia and French from Douviers, Lille, Sedan, Elbeuf, Rouen, Abbeville, Montoire, Reims, Montpellier, Aachen, Stolberg and Verviers. The prohibitive decree of Napoleon of June 10, 1806 saved Italian industrialists from the competition of Austrian cloth, but French competition remained in full force.

The duty levied on imports to Italy was burdensome – according to the tariff of 1803 for more expensive varieties, up to 3 francs per cubit, and for more straightforward varieties, up to 1.5 francs per cubit.<sup>418</sup> However, this was not a particularly strong and durable provision for Italian production. Already in 1805 the question was raised about a sharp reduction in tariff rates for all French goods imported into Italy. At the same time, they could not significantly overestimate the price when entering the kingdom's market. There were other conditions that more reliably protected the Italian domestic market from complete capture by French importers. The kingdom's cloth mills and woolen manufactories had cheap raw materials, which they used, resorting relatively little to more expensive wool in the early years of Napoleon's rule, which could be obtained both in Romagna and in the south of the peninsula in Apulia. The cheapness of labor contributed even more to the establishment of low prices for Italian goods. This was aided by the impact of transportation costs on the rise in the price of French goods. On average, the corresponding varieties of Italian woolen fabrics were sold in the kingdom for 25% cheaper than French ones. Nevertheless, the thin varieties, which did not know competition, were distributed even under the tariff of 1803 in Italy in significant numbers, in direct contrast to the rougher varieties. In Italy, the elite class dressed mainly in English, French, and partly Austrian fine cloth before Napoleon, in French and Austrian since the beginning of Napoleon's rule, and in French and Italian since the decree of June 10, 1806.

In general, back in 1806, the French were inclined to consider their position in Italy almost hopeless in terms of economic struggle with competitors, even in industries

<sup>418</sup> Candeloro, 1979.

such as cloth, which was revived under Napoleon. The main difficulty was the price. French production has become extremely expensive in 10–15 years. Cloth prices increased by 30–40% by 1805–1806 compared to the pre-revolutionary period<sup>47</sup>. Thus, woolen fabrics have become one of the main articles of Italian consumption. By decree on October 10, 1810, Napoleon banned the importation of wool and cloth fabrics and products to Italy with the exception of the French Empire. French entrepreneurs had to seriously consider independent national production, even in the field of making the finest varieties. Already in 1805–1806, two huge enterprises were operating: one located near Vicenza, the other in Bergamo. The first was a manufactory that employed 1 500 machines, each producing 75 pieces of cloth of 30 cubits in length each year<sup>48</sup>. This manufactory produced both fine and more straightforward grades. Before the annexation of the Venetian territory to the Kingdom of Italy when Vicenza belonged to the Austrians, the products of this manufactory were distributed in Italy despite the import duties they were subject to. After 1805 when Vicenza and Venice became part of the kingdom, this difficulty disappeared, and the manufactory could count on the most expansive sales.

As for the Bergamas manufactory, which produced very durable and high-quality cloth that rivaled English and French in quality, neither the exact number of its workers nor the size of its production is known. The manufactory in Bergamo received the necessary wool from Turkey and the south of the Apennine Peninsula – from Puglia. Long before Napoleon, the Bergamas region was one of the most industrial in Lombardy. The city of Bergamo was considered one of the most monetary and richest commercial capitals in all of Italy. The silk industry, which flourished here before the arrival of Napoleon, suffered from the reduction of trade relations with Holland through which it had previously been sold to the north, and from the complete cessation of trade with England. However, the famous local cloth manufactories persisted throughout Napoleon's reign. Before the Napoleonic rule, this industry was the primary source of prosperity and wealth. This area, which became part of the Serio department under Napoleon, remained one of the most industrial compared to other parts of the Kingdom

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<sup>47</sup> Candeloro, 1979.

<sup>48</sup> Farle, 1958.

of Italy but the main industry, cloth making, experienced many problems. As early as 1802 the drapers complained about the decline of their trade. But in spite of everything, cloth-making remained stable in Bergamo throughout this era. The city was not the only center of fine cloth manufacture in the kingdom, and the highest grades of cloth produced in the kingdom did not come from there.

The best cloth, not only of the kingdom of Italy but also of the entire Apennine Peninsula, was made in the department of Lario. The cloth industry of this department could compete with the French, which had been famous for a long time. The raw materials supplied to the local manufacturers were mainly imported from Spain. The manufactories of the Lario department used the best merino wool, which Napoleon, during the conquest of Spain, wanted to deprive England and benefit France. However, Italian clothiers could only freely obtain Spanish wool from 1808 to 1809 and the following years, before the beginning of the Spanish Guerilla. After the outbreak of Guerilla, trade relations between the Iberian and Apennine peninsulas almost wholly ceased. In addition to Spanish wool, wool from the Roman region was also processed in the manufactories of the Lario department. This wool was even slightly better than the one imported from Puglia. However, the kingdom's fine cloth production has been declining significantly every year since the beginning of Napoleon's period, even before the proclamation of the continental blockade. This could be especially noticeable in this department, which is the only one where the highest grades of cloth were made. The considerable cloth manufactory of Guaita in Como, the largest of all, employed 1 000 workers before Napoleon, and in 1806 it employed only 400 people. Previously, it produced up to 1 000 pieces of cloth per year. Now, it produces 400 pieces<sup>4 9</sup>.

The manufacture of simple and cheap woolen fabrics was highly developed in the cities of the former Venetian region. More expensive varieties were also produced in Venice. In the first months after the annexation of Venice to the kingdom, Napoleon ordered the calculation of how many pieces of woolen cloth were needed for the troops' uniforms and how much the Venetian industry could supply annually. It turned out that in Venice more subtle varieties were produced that were not suitable for this purpose. They were manufactured for sale to Turkey, as long as unhindered maritime trade with

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<sup>4 9</sup> Salvadori, 1990.



that country was possible. A large factory that had existed in Venice since the beginning of the 18th century manufacturing soldiers' cloth and coarse woolen fabrics, disappeared with the destruction of Venice's independence and its transfer to the power of the Austrians through the Campoformio world. The Austrian government did not want to give orders to this manufactory, and it proved difficult for it to exist without government supplies.

Thus, in the spring of 1806, there was not a single cloth mill of the type required by the Ministry of War in Venice. However, the cloth industry, which had been significantly reduced, continued to exist in this city. These were the remnants of the former Venetian cloth industry, which produced very expensive durable fabrics from the best Spanish wool varieties and worked a lot for eastern markets. Even in the early years of Napoleon's rule, Venice could continue to receive precious Spanish merino wool. However, since 1808, this raw material has become almost inaccessible to distant Venice. It was also challenging to obtain coloring agents.

Cloth-making held firm in the north-east of the kingdom. It was the primary fishery in the Brenta department. The Veronese woolen manufactories were also significant. 1883 people worked in six factories. These manufactories produced coarse woolen fabrics, which were primarily designed for the peasantry. Veronese woolen fabrics spread among the peasantry almost throughout the kingdom. However, in the same year, 1808, there was a decline in sales, which was explained by the rise in the price of wool and coloring substances. Simple varieties were also cultivated in cities that were of little importance in this industry. There was an old, once large cloth manufactory in Modena. Wool, which was used for dressing during the Napoleonic era, was local and imported from Ferrara and Padua. The cloth was coarse and cheap and sold exclusively on the local market. This manufactory flourished in the middle of the 18th century. During the wars of Frederick II, the manufactory employed 500 workers and produced more than 500 pieces of cloth per year. In 1806, it produced only 170 units. Military supplies stopped with the fall of the old government. In Bologna, in 1805, there were two, and in 1806, three cloth manufactories, which were not particularly important produced cloth of simple varieties designed for the local market. They had local wool for the coarsest varieties and ordered some from Padua and Rome. Paduan wool was

three times more expensive than local wool but much better although it could not compare with the fine varieties of Spanish and Austrian wool.

The issue of cheap wool was sometimes one of the crucial issues for Italian woolworkers and clothiers. In the mining department of Melia in 1806, there was a small scale wool production, which needed a small supply of wool from abroad, from the Levantine countries. Production was scattered across the villages of the mountain valleys. Up to 30 thousand pieces of wool blankets worth 600 thousand lire were made here<sup>40</sup>. In Brescia itself, there was also a cloth production, but the goods were very coarse and produced in such small quantities that it was necessary to order cloth from German countries. Sometimes, local conditions were such that it was more profitable for sheep farmers to sell wool to neighboring foreign lands. For example, sheep farming was done in the Metauro department. Still, the inhabitants sold wool to the former Ecclesiastical region, that is, to the departments of the French Empire – Tiber and Trasimene – and bought woollen fabrics made from the wool they sold in these departments. The most profound reason that hindered industry development there was the Ancon chamber. By the end of 1809, the high cost of wool began to worry Italian clothiers greatly. It worsened with the almost simultaneous rapid depletion of stocks of coloring substances of colonial origin, necessary in the cloth industry. Cloth prices were rising rapidly and sales were declining. It was also artificially difficult to export woollen fabrics from Italy to Piedmont and Tuscany, where previously this product was sold from Lombardy and the Venetian region.

In addition to the usual coarse woollen cloth, Italian fabrics began to be made from wool yarn mixed with linen and paper. The Italian ministers tried to prove to their French colleagues that the Italian industry could not deal with French imports of the same material. Based on the Franco-Italian trade agreement, only cloth and woollen fabrics were subject to a half duty, not the mixed ones. Therefore, collecting a full duty from French fabrics imported into Italy of this grade would be necessary. These beliefs did not affect the French. The lack of wool was not a very threatening and permanent phenomenon. The departments of Panaro, Crostolo, and some others, where cattle breeding was developed, could still produce a lot of wool. The Rubicon Department was

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<sup>40</sup> Tarle, 1958.

extremely rich in it. The wool of the Romanesque herds was in great demand and in great demand from the kingdom's clothiers, although they found the imported Le Ventin wool to be better in quality.

Thus, wool production and cloth-making in the kingdom of Italy had prospects for development despite France's strict control and the obstacles it put up to import raw materials and export finished products. The inevitable progress found ways to penetrate the peninsula, thereby preventing the decay of historically established production.

Yarn and cloth weaving have been common in the north of the Apennine Peninsula and the Venetian region since the end of the Middle Ages. This industry was more developed in the country than cotton production, which barely appeared in the last years of the 18th century. The first calculation in these industries was not compiled in the same way as the documents related to the silk and wool industries. Three headings were given: the number of spinners, the number of weavers, and the number of workers engaged in dyeing cloth. In these branches of the textile industry, village artisanal producers played an extremely large role, and it was extremely difficult to count them.

As in other branches of the textile industry, the number of spinners here was much smaller and less associated with individual enterprises. In some departments, the complete absence of these industries was stated, or it was pointed out that counting the weavers, spinners, and others scattered in the villages was impossible. There were departments where the rural population was engaged in yarn and cloth, not for sale but for consumption. Comparing the figures from different years, we see the following in almost all departments: a slight decrease in 1807 compared with 1806, followed by a continued decrease in 1808, and in three cases a slight increase. Subsequently, there was an upward trend in 1810-1811.<sup>47</sup>

All branches of the textile industry except silk and wool production, are combined into one column in the Italian trade balances. At the same time, the trade in raw materials and manufactures was not separated. Flax, hemp, cotton, and everything that was made from these materials—canvas and canvases, bleached paper fabrics and canco, cotton fabrics of all kinds, hemp fabrics—were all counted together when the trade balance was adjusted. The main imports were paper fabrics, fine linen fabrics, and

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<sup>47</sup> Candeloro, 1979.

cotton in raw materials. The latter could legally be brought to the kingdom from France considering the ports of Genoa and Livorno to be French imperial ports at that time, from the Levant and Naples. It can be assumed that cotton was only imported from the Levant and the Kingdom of Naples for raw materials, since the kingdom did not need flax and hemp, and manufacturing in these countries was not well developed. Fine linen and hemp products could be imported from Germany. The significant share of imports belonged to France, as the will of Napoleon gave the kingdom a monopoly market for French manufacturers of paper fabrics and cotton. The kingdom undoubtedly needed cotton raw materials and manufactures. German fine canvases were mainly imported, as French canvases were much more expensive. Linen production in western and northern Germany was significantly developed in that era. Bavaria, Baden, and Württemberg made canvases and canvases easier. After the Trianon tariff, prices for some cotton varieties increased tenfold compared to the previous time. In 1817, the best varieties of American and English cotton began to arrive in Italy from German countries, passing from Kronstadt, Riga, Arkhangel'sk, and Odessa to Prussia and Austria and from there spreading across Europe.

The export of all these products and manufactures from Italy was distributed almost as follows (Table 15).

In this part, flax, hemp, coarse linen, and cotton fabrics were exported from the kingdom. Italy exported 9.66 million lire worth of raw materials and semi-finished products from flax and hemp, while finished fabrics accounted for only about 5 million lire. In 1812, raw materials such as flax and hemp were imported from Italy to France, Germany, and Switzerland, and coarse linen and coarse fabrics were imported to the Ionian Islands, the Illyrian provinces, and the Kingdom of Naples, as those countries needed them. Switzerland needed both flax and hemp. She received it for an extremely small amount of 740 thousand lire because French purchases were made for 9.47 million lire<sup>427</sup>.

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<sup>427</sup> Tarle, 1958.

Table .9 Statistics on the export of products and manufactures from Italy in millions of lire in 1812

State	Volume of Export
France	9.47
Kingdom of Naples	1.09
Illyrian provinces	4.83
Germany	1.53
Switzerland	0.24

Source: Central State Archive of Italy

Napoleon took all measures to provide the French Empire with the cheap raw materials it needed. She had been unable to do without her own linen and hemp for a long time. The corresponding movements of the customs apparatus of the Kingdom of Italy made it difficult to export these raw materials to Germany and facilitated export to the Empire.

*In conclusion,* it is necessary to note that wool and cloth production in Italy in the 19th century, although inferior in scale and importance to the silk industry, played an essential role in the country's economy, especially in the domestic market. Wool production has a long tradition in Italy's northern and central regions. The Venetian regions stood out as centers of the wool industry, where large manufactories were located. Italian manufacturers faced fierce competition from foreign goods, especially from France and Austria. The continental blockade imposed by Napoleon initially created favorable conditions for the development of domestic production but then led to a shortage of raw materials and rising prices. The quality of Italian wool was often inferior to its foreign counterparts. Producers depended on wool imports, especially from Spain and southern Italy (Apulia). Access to high-quality merino wool from Spain was difficult due to the Napoleonic Wars. Both fine and coarse types of cloth were produced in Italy. Fine varieties, as a rule, competed with French and English products while coarse varieties were aimed at the domestic market and consumption by the general population. The primary market for Italian wool products was the domestic market. Exports played a lesser role than in the silk industry. Competition from more

industrially developed countries such as France and Austria posed serious challenges for Italian manufacturers. In general, the Italian wool industry was characterized by a technological lag behind the leading European countries.

Among the trends, it is necessary to highlight

(1) Import growth. During the Napoleonic period, there was an increase in imports of wool and woollen goods, which indicates the growing dependence of the Italian market on foreign goods.

(2) Export stagnation. Exports of Italian wool products remained relatively stable and did not show significant growth.

(3) Development of individual centers. Despite common problems, in some regions, such as Bergamo and Venice, the centers of production of high-quality cloth remained.

Wool and cloth production was important in providing the population with clothing and other necessary goods. The development of this industry has contributed to the growth of employment and income of the population. However, due to many problems, the wool industry has not been able to achieve the same level of development and importance as the silk industry. Despite the difficulties, the wool industry in Italy had the potential for development. This required solving problems such as dependence on imported raw materials, strengthening competitiveness, modernizing technology, and expanding sales markets.

Wool and cloth production in Italy in the 19th century presented a complex and contradictory picture. On the one hand, it had a long tradition and played an important role in the domestic market. On the other hand, it faced numerous challenges, such as import dependence, competition, and technological lag. The development of this industry required an integrated approach aimed at solving existing problems and creating conditions for sustainable growth.

#### **7.7.4 Cotton Production**

Cotton production was an innovation in the kingdom in the last years of the 18th century. Neither the towns nor the villages have yet had time to get used to cotton processing. The Italian village spun and wove silk, spun flax and wove linen, made hemp

fabrics, and spun wool, but in the early years of Napoleon's rule it was not yet accustomed to working on cotton. In Milan, there was a paper-weaving, and cotton-making manufactory by Kramer. He ordered bleached paper fabrics from Switzerland and subjected them to additional processing. When the import of paper fabrics to Italy was banned in 1806 by Napoleon's decree, Kramer declared that he had stocked up on a large number of Swiss fabrics. In the more distant parts of the kingdom, located in the mountains, already in the early years of the continental blockade, even before the Trianon tariff, cotton and paints penetrated but in a spoiled form or very low grade. There was a small production of paper handkerchiefs in the Adda department. In 1809 those interested complained about the material they had to work on.

In Milan, cotton and cotton production was concentrated in two manufactories: Kramer and Morozzi. Both of these manufactories had already a large sale in 1806 and supplied the country with goods. The Morozzi manufactory had machines and made yarn. The owner of the company, a very knowledgeable technician who traveled to France and Holland on behalf of the Minister of the Interior, brought information from there and was engaged in improving the machines. After the decree of June 10, 1806, which made it impossible to legally import paper fabrics from abroad, another cotton manufactory was opened in Milan by the French native Delin, who specialized in making paper shawls. The government gave him a free room for his establishment.

Considering the novelty and relative prevalence of cotton production, the linen and cotton industries are counted together. This information is very important for characterizing the state of the textile industry. However, in the department of Bacchiglione, linen production is shown separately from cotton production. The cotton industry has achieved a very serious development in the department. Machine production in this industry was almost unknown in Italy. In 1807 there was only one paper mill in the whole kingdom that had machines.

Although cotton production in Italy existed on a very modest scale, the consumption of fabrics made from cotton was equally insignificant. Muslin and thin paper fabrics were produced in northern Italy until it was dependent on Napoleon, and then, for a short period of time, from England. Since the resumption of the protracted war, goods began to be imported from Switzerland, and only after France's prohibitive

decree of June 10, 1806. Before the conquest of Italy by the French, the country received paper velvet or corduroy fabrics, from England, where this product was produced at an incomparably lower cost, and from France. In addition to these exporters, corduroy fabrics were produced in Prussia and Saxony. After the decree, Italy was able to buy these goods only in France, but since that time, the consumption of these goods in the kingdom has dropped significantly. This was facilitated by Napoleon's very high import duty in the kingdom, hoping that French industry would not suffer from this since it was forbidden to order these materials from anywhere except France. However, the consumption of paper fabrics in Italy was declining rapidly. During the era of the revolution, the Lombardy-Venetian region received large quantities of Swiss calico. Switzerland imports cotton fabrics worth 30 million francs annually to future Italian regions<sup>423</sup>. When Geneva was torn away from Switzerland and annexed to France, the Geneva cotton manufactories immediately suffered a severe blow. However, the rest of Switzerland continued to supply the Kingdom of Italy with its calico. It was a transfer point through which the English calico was sent to Italy.

In selling paper and calico goods in the Kingdom of Italy, the French industry had to account for some time the permission Napoleon gave on January 12, 1807, to the Grand Duchy of Berg to import these goods into Italy. This permission created a favorable position in favor of the Grand Duchy, removing it from the general imperial decree of June 10, 1806<sup>424</sup>. Berg strongly displaced France from the Italian market. The main reason for this phenomenon was the relatively high cost of French goods. Paper velvet in Italy was in use at almost all levels of society. The population of the Kingdom of Italy raised the demand for cheap and expensive paper fabrics.

Along with the lack of machinery, a negative feature was the lack of cheap and plentiful raw materials. In the south of the peninsula, some varieties of cotton were bred. Of course, the kingdom was closer to getting this cotton than the Empire. The Italian authorities had to resort to tricks. In 1808, when French cotton manufactories were experiencing a cotton famine, it was discovered that cotton coming from the south of the peninsula, as well as from ports through the kingdom, was not allowed to transit to

<sup>423</sup> Bernhardt & Ganapini, 1996.

<sup>424</sup> Candeloro, 1979.



France because in Italy the customs administration referred to an order to stop cotton exports. The director of the Italian customs wanted to provide Italian manufactories with cotton, as Neapolitan non-high-quality cotton was increasingly in use. The Pedegrini-Martini Bologna weaving manufactory, which produced linen, hemp and cotton fabrics, received cotton from Naples as early as 1806. But this cotton became a particularly marketable raw material only after the Trianon tariff.

The absence of or insufficient amount of cotton would not have had such serious consequences for the manufacture of lace and other fabrics in Italy if it had been possible to obtain ready-made yarn. However, this passage was blocked. By decree on October 10, 1810 Napoleon banned the import of cotton yarn and semi-finished products, bleached cotton fabrics, to Italy<sup>4</sup>. This circumstance placed a difficult position for three significant cotton and cotton manufactories that existed in the kingdom at that time, as well as several industrial establishments of the same specialty. They were threatened with bankruptcy due to the lack of these semi-finished products since, at that time, there was not a single paper mill in the kingdom. Even the one who worked in Milan disappeared. There were only spinners and spinners delivering yarn to the weaving workshops. The preservation of the existing cotton manufactories provided work for a large number of the poor and cheap and coarse fabrics were made there, in which the people dressed.

As we have already said, Italy needed semi-finished products. For its paper-weaving manufactories, ready-made and cheap yarn and bleached fabrics were necessary raw materials that were already being processed into the hands of Italian weavers. The French, having become monopolists in the supply of yarn to Italy, took advantage of their position and raised prices. Compared to these facts, even the Trianon tariff was of secondary importance for Italy, which made it terribly difficult to import cotton. Italy needed yarn more than cotton raw materials. The cotton industry in Italy began to decline. In 1807 the kingdom received 25,236 quintals of cotton and cotton yarn for processing, and in 1811 – a total of 4,539 quintals<sup>4, 6</sup>.

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<sup>4</sup> Candeloro, 1979

<sup>6</sup> Tarle, 1968

Under all these conditions, the French cotton industry successfully struggled in the Italian market with foreign production. In the last years of Napoleon's reign, Italian representatives of the cotton industry did not cease to complain about the impossibility of having the same sales of their goods due to the extraordinary rise in the price of cotton, which inevitably entailed the need to set too high prices for the goods.

*In conclusion*, it is necessary to note that, in Italy at the beginning of the 19th century, cotton production was in its infancy, representing a new industry for the country that was just beginning to develop. Unlike traditional types of textile production such as sericulture, flax, and wool production, cotton processing was not widespread either in urban or rural areas.

The first attempts to create cotton manufactories in Italy are associated with the name of Kramer, who processed imported bleached paper fabrics from Switzerland. However, with the introduction of the continental blockade by Napoleon and the ban on the import of paper fabrics in 1806, Kramer was forced to refocus on the production of his own fabrics.

In Milan, where the primary production of cotton and cotton fabrics was concentrated, there were several manufacturers, such as Kramer and Morozzi. The Morozzi manufactory, headed by an experienced technician, was equipped with machines and engaged in yarn production.

Despite the existence of individual successful enterprises, cotton production in Italy was generally characterized by modest size and limited distribution. In 1807, there was only one paper mill, equipped with machines in the whole country.

One of the main problems faced by cotton production in Italy was the lack of cheap and affordable raw materials. Cotton at that time was mainly imported from abroad, which made production expensive and uncompetitive.

Another important problem was the lack of qualified personnel and experience in cotton processing. Unlike traditional types of textile production, where there were established skills and traditions, working with cotton required new knowledge and skills that were just beginning to take shape in Italy.

Despite the difficulties, cotton production in Italy gradually developed. This was facilitated, in particular, by the introduction of the continental blockade, which limited

the import of finished fabrics from abroad and stimulated the development of its own production.

However, dependence on imported raw materials and equipment, as well as competition from more industrially developed countries such as France and the United Kingdom, hindered the development of cotton production in Italy.

In the last years of the Napoleonic rule, Italian manufacturers of cotton fabrics faced serious problems associated with a sharp rise in the price of cotton. This led to a decrease in production volumes and the inability to compete with foreign manufacturers.

In general, cotton production in Italy in the first half of the 19th century was at the initial stage of its development. Despite individual successes and the emergence of large manufactories, the industry faced numerous problems that hindered its growth and development.

## **7.8 Metallurgical Production**

### ***7.8.1 Geography of the Mining Industry of the Apennines***

The kingdom's metallurgy was developed almost exclusively in the northern, mountainous strip where the mines were located. In this industry, the on-site presence or proximity of raw materials played a crucial role in favor of establishing an industrial enterprise in this district. The regions of Brescia and Bergamo were in first place in this regard, followed by the Lake Como region of the Lario department and the area along the Adda River. Iron and lead were mined in the mountains scattered in the Brescia region and throughout the department of Mella. This department, despite the mediocre conditions for agriculture, was considered one of the richest in the kingdom. It was such only because of the abundance of iron ore in its mountains. The population and government authorities were convinced that only a small part of the underground wealth that existed in this part of the Alps had been exploited and that the Valombria group alone could be enough to supply the entire kingdom with iron. However, at that time the methods of search and development were primitive. With frequent flooding of galleries and tunnels with water, they were thrown without making an attempt to remove the water. In Italy, there was a lack of a mining institute that could be a source of

necessary knowledge. Knowledge of applied chemistry and hydraulics was lacking among the people who mined iron and lead ore in this northern, mountainous part of the kingdom. About 700,000 quintals of iron were extracted annually from mines located in the mountainous part of the Mella department. Part of the population of the Mella department was engaged in ore mining and ironworking. In 1806, the department had 11 blast furnaces and 99 smelting establishments<sup>47</sup>. Of the metal goods, agricultural implements, kitchen utensils, weapons, knives, forks, tongs, hammers and hardware were the most produced here. The Department sold these goods for 3 million lire per year<sup>48</sup>. However, these Brescia goods had to withstand the most challenging competition both abroad and in the kingdom. The scarcity and high fuel costs have significantly increased the cost of Italian iron goods. The Bavarians bought the ore in the department of Mella and transported it on mules through the mountains. There was no shortage of fuel in wooded Bavaria. Cheap iron was produced there from Italian ore which later successfully competed with Italian iron even in the domestic market of the Kingdom of Italy. The Austrian competition was even more dangerous. There was an abundance of fuel in Carinthia, and ore was in much greater quantities than in northern Italy. Labor was cheaper there than in the kingdom.

Gunsmithing was concentrated in Brescia, the main city of the department and the local commercial center. Before Napoleon, a lot of very expensive weapons were manufactured here. These weapons were sold to the countries of the Levant, Turkey, the islands of the Archipelago, Tunisia, and the Barbarian lands. Some of these products also went to Spain. It was estimated that up to 30,000 guns and other weapons worth more than 1 million francs were exported from here each year<sup>49</sup>. However, the war with the British closed access to the seas and reduced this sale. Back in 1805-1806, orders were received, but Levantine sales were seriously hampered. The Napoleonic government, which always actively intervened in the affairs of the arms industry, established a special audit commission that checked the quality of weapons from Brescia and put a special stamp on each piece for the right to sell. In 1803, the government

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<sup>47</sup> Caracciolo, 1989.

<sup>48</sup> Caracciolo, 1989.

<sup>49</sup> Tarle, 1958.

opened an arms factory there at its own expense which had already flourished by 1806. The principle of division of labor was applied in this institution, even in the phase of production that took place outside the factory's walls. The initial processing of ore and the first smelting were performed in the mountains, not far from the mines. The arms factory especially gave orders for individual parts of the suppliers who delivered each order to the factory where these metal parts were already received for further processing. Each worker who worked at the factory also had their own specialty, strictly delimited and precise. In those days, all these techniques were still innovative in Italy. This state-owned factory manufactured and presented 600 rifles to the government every month, each costing the treasury 36 francs. Up to 200 workers worked inside the plant itself, up to 600 people outside the plant, and two thousand people did the initial phases of work and lived in mountain valleys near the mines<sup>40</sup>. The private weapon factories of the Brescia region were not only under the formally established supervision of the administration of a large state-owned plant but also in business connection with this plant for which they also made separate orders. There were two private factories in the department that manufactured edged weapons, one factory for the production of bayonets, two factories for projectiles, and one that specially made buckshot. The factory in Cardona, which cast rifle barrels, was funded by the government and employed 1 300 workers. Improvements were introduced at this plant, and a hammer was operated and driven by a special machine. The working day here lasted 17 hours<sup>41</sup>. The metallurgy of the Brescia region was not limited to processing only local raw materials. Iron. There were copperworks in Valtrombia who manufactured copper goods. Copper was exported from Carinthia. In 1806, there were about 1 500 copper workers there. There were many gold and silver workshops in Brescia. It produced gold and silver items worth 400,000 lire per year<sup>42</sup>. Arms production, despite the decrease in domestic sales and the complete cessation of arms sales to the Levant countries, was maintained here throughout the period of French supremacy. The cold steel and firearms factories in Brescia flourished as early as 1812.

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<sup>40</sup> Tarle, 1948.

<sup>41</sup> Tarle, 1958.

<sup>42</sup> Candeloro, 1979.

In Cremona, as early as 1804, a shell factory was set up by a local capitalist, Cadolone. He received large orders from the government. For example, he was tasked with casting 180,000 kernels weighing 300 ounces each<sup>43</sup>. This factory received the necessary raw materials from Brescia. For the Napoleonic government, such production had profound state significance and was encouraged. The government subsidized Cadolone and offered him the opportunity to open a cannon factory as well.

Iron ore mining was excellent, and in parallel with this, metallurgical production was also developed in the neighboring Bergamas region as part of the Serio department. The department had 15 blast furnaces and 80 iron-making establishments. From 1804 to 1806, up to 25 million pounds of iron ore were mined there, and 12 million pounds of processed pig iron were obtained<sup>44</sup>. Nails and other iron goods were manufactured in Bergamo and other cities of the department, which were sold in Parma, Romagna, and the Kingdom of Naples. According to reviews, steel was made here better than in the central area of metallurgical production, Brescia. But even here, since 1806, there has been a long-term fuel crisis. By Napoleon's decree, a unique braid factory was opened in Castro in the Serio department in 1804. Until that moment, no such institution existed in the kingdom, and braids had to be ordered from abroad. This state-owned institution earned very well and two years later began to compete with imports. 140 scythes were produced daily at this factory. Steel was produced in seven workshops, which operated exclusively at the expense of this braid factory. The business was organized so that the government entrusted the entire enterprise management to one person from Carinthia, who paid him a certain amount for each finished braid, and he had already settled with the workers. In general, each braid cost the government 3 lire 5 centesimo. For 3 lire 15 centimos, braids went on sale, as the government consciously wanted, even at a loss, to win back the foreign-made market and displace imported braids, which could not be sold at such a low price<sup>45</sup>. The Italian government did not spare the costs of this braid factory. It had much broader goals than Napoleon. There was even an intention to enter the imperial market, samples were sent to Piedmont and Paris. In two years, 29 thousand

<sup>43</sup> Tarle, 1968.

<sup>44</sup> Vanni, 1998.

<sup>45</sup> Candelero, 1979.

brands were made. Negotiations were underway with the Emperor through the Viceroy to lower the French import duty on steel products.

The actual production of steel objects in Carinthia was much cheaper than in the kingdom. In Carinthia, a set of the cost the producer only 1 lira 13 centimes, but the import duty into the kingdom and transportation costs significantly increased the price 108. The duty on steel products was significantly higher than on steel. It should be noted that the shortage of fuel was sometimes so noticeable that metallurgists in the northern departments of the kingdom decided to order finished steel from Carinthia and limit themselves to making products from this finished steel, agreeing to abandon the exploitation of their own iron ore from mines located on the territory of the departments of Sesto and Meila.

The iron industry was once considered entirely developed in the Adda department located in the mountains. However, in the town of Turin and its surroundings in this department in 1809, there were only 50 workers employed in iron workshops. These workshops were in a disappointing state at that time. The shortage and high cost of fuel, the excessively high wages demanded by the workers, and the falling price of pig iron were difficulties and adverse conditions that these establishments had to deal with. In the central city of the department, coppersmiths, who also complained about the decline in production, worked in Sandrio. This area was economically attracted to the Adriatic Sea and to Venice, and the copper goods produced in Sandrio could be sold through the Venetian port in the Levant countries. The annexation of Venice to the Kingdom of Italy was supposed to reduce or completely stop this sale. In 1809, this fishery almost did not exist in the department.

There was very little copper in the northern parts of the kingdom. Copper and brass products were brought to Italy in 1805–1806 from Hamburg in sufficient quantities. These items were also imported from Austria, France, and the western part of Germany. Small metal goods were rarely seen in the kingdom. It was imported before the war from England, France, and Germany, and after the outbreak of the war with Britain, it was imported only from France and German countries. France supplied thinner varieties, while the German countries supplied rougher varieties. Iron objects, such as agricultural and horticultural implements and kitchen utensils, were made in

Brescia and the Brescia region. Still, in general, many of them were imported from Germany.

The Grand Duchy of Berg supplied blades, knives, and forks to the cities of Nuremberg and Augsburg, as well as Paris. Lyon, Sedan, Lez-le and St Etienne rings, needles, pins, and hardware were imported from Saint-Etienne. France imported 20–30 tons to Italy on average every year<sup>436</sup>. In this area, too, the Italian market valued cheapness above all, and therefore here, too, the most important means to combat the competition of German goods was to reduce duties on French goods.

France was not rich in iron production. The Transalpine departments of the Empire, located closest to the border of the Kingdom of Italy, particularly needed iron goods. Italian industrialists, supported by the royal government, until the very last years of Napoleon's rule, demanded that the duty on Italian iron goods imported into these departments be reduced by half.

In some areas, the iron industry was in its infancy in Italy, and Italians tried to learn the business in Carinthia and Styria, the countries closest to them, where this industry was at a high level. Consequently, Italian consumption could not do without imports from abroad in this regard.

*In conclusion*, it is necessary to note that the mining industry of the Apennines in the 19th century was concentrated mainly in the northern regions, where the primary deposits of iron and lead ore were located. This factor determined the development of metallurgy in the regions of Brescia, Bergamo, along the Adda River, and in the department of Meila. A significant part of the population of these regions was engaged in the extraction and processing of metals, which contributed to the formation of developed industrial centers.

However, the development of the mining industry faced many serious challenges. One of the main difficulties was the lack of advanced mining methods. Due to the frequent flooding of tunnels and galleries, ore extraction proved to be unstable, and the lack of mining institutes and specialized knowledge in hydraulics and chemistry limited work efficiency. The use of primitive technologies led to the fact that a significant part of the potential resources remained unused.

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<sup>436</sup> Candeloro, 1979.



The metallurgical industry of the Kingdom of Italy also experienced significant difficulties due to the shortage and high fuel costs. This made local products less competitive than those from Bavaria, Austria, and France. For example, the Bavarians bought Italian ore, processed it using cheap fuels and shipped finished metal products back to Italy at lower prices. Competition from Austria, especially Carinthia, was even more intense, as more ore was mined there and production was cheaper.

Despite these obstacles, the northern regions of Italy continued to be the leading centers of metallurgy. The arms industry flourished in Brescia, where new methods of labor organization were introduced, such as the division of production processes between specialized workers. This made it possible to significantly increase the efficiency of weapons manufacturing, which was especially actively encouraged by the Napoleonic government. Brescia's arms factories produced up to 30,000 firearms annually, much of which were exported.

In addition to weapons production, the region developed the manufacture of various metal goods, including kitchen utensils, agricultural tools, and building materials. Metallurgy also played a key role in Bergamo, and the local steel was known for its higher quality than in Brescia. The production of nails and other iron goods was established here, and they were actively supplied to Parma, Romagna, and the Kingdom of Naples. A specialized state-owned enterprise for braid production was established in the Serio department, which began to compete successfully with imported products.

At the same time, Italian metallurgy could not function without importing raw materials and finished products. Copper goods were imported from Carinthia, France, and Germany, as copper deposits were scarce in Italy itself. Imports from France and Germany also included small metal products such as pins, needles, and rings, which were not produced in sufficient quantities in Italy itself.

Thus, despite the significant development of the mining and metallurgical industry in the northern regions of Italy in the 19th century, this industry faced many problems. High fuel costs, imperfect mining and processing technologies, and fierce competition from neighboring countries limited the growth of local industry. However, the government sought to support strategically important enterprises such as weapons

factories and metallurgical plants, allowing it to maintain a certain production level even in challenging economic conditions.

### 7.3.2 Trade Balance of Production

The Kingdom of Italy imported and exported not only metallurgy products but also metal raw materials. The kingdom's trade balances counted metals and metal factories together (Table 16).

Table 16 Statistics of metals and metal factories in the Kingdom of Italy's trade balances in 1809, 1810, and 1812

Year	Import	Export	Passive of Italy
1809	3,031,000	2,011,040	1,019,960
1810	4,416,789	2,120,808	2,295,981
1812	3,206,422	2,130,091	1,076,331

Source: Central State Archive of Italy

There was a steady increase in the kingdom's dependence on imports, although exports were also increasing.

If we turn to the countries that imported metals and metallurgical plants into the kingdom, in 1812 a certain amount was imported, as shown below (Table 17).

Table 17 Statistics of metals and metal factories' import in the Kingdom of Italy in millions of lire in 1812

State	Volume of Import
Austria	2.37
France	2.27
Germany	0.51
Illyrian provinces	0.02

Source: Central State Archive of Italy

The import from Austria was the largest, as the Austrian possessions had been supplying France with this product for a long time. Large quantities of gold and silver

jewelry, metal, luxury items, and bronze items were imported from France to the kingdom. Agricultural implements mainly came from Austria, knives, utensils, and weapons came from German countries and France.

The statistics of metals and metal product exports from the Kingdom of Italy in 1812 are presented below (Table 18).

Table 18 Statistics of exports of metals and metal products from the Kingdom of Italy in thousands of lire in 1812

State	Volume of Export
France	590
Kingdom of Naples	480
Illyrian provinces	980
Levanti's states	120
Germany	480
Switzerland	110

Source: Central State Archive of Italy

Thus, the kingdom could not take full advantage of its precious advantage – the comparative abundance of ore during the entire epoch in question. However, Italian metallurgy was one of those branches of the kingdom's industrial activity that proved to be generally stable.

## 7.9 Conclusion

Summarizing the results of Chapter 7, the author analyzes the social and economic development of Italy in the first half of the 19th century, covering the period of Napoleonic rule and the first decades after the Congress of Vienna. The study is based on a wide range of statistical data and historical sources, allowing for a comprehensive and detailed examination of the main trends and problems in the development of the Italian economy and society.

The period of Napoleon's rule (1796-1814) significantly impacted Italy's social and economic development. Despite the hardships of the occupation and military operations, essential reforms were performed to modernize the administrative system, legislation, and economy. Prerequisites were created for forming a single internal market, and measures and weights were unified, contributing to the development of trade and industry. However, Napoleon's rule was also characterized by high taxes, requisitions, and the continental blockade, negatively affecting economic development.

At the beginning of the 19th century, the Italian population was characterized by a high degree of agrarianism and social stratification. Most of the population was engaged in agriculture, dominated by the peasantry, dependent on the landlords. The development of cities and industry was slow, which led to the preservation of traditional social relations.

An analysis of statistical data shows that in the first half of the 19th century Italian industry was in its infancy. Small enterprises based on manual labor prevailed. The development of machine production was slow due to the lack of capital, skilled workers, and technical lag behind the leading European countries.

Agriculture played a key role in the Italian economy. The primary industries were grain farming, viticulture, olive growing, and sericulture. However, agriculture was characterized by low productivity, the use of outdated technologies, and dependence on natural conditions. The development of agricultural sectors was uneven. In some regions, such as Lombardy and Piedmont, agricultural production has increased due to the introduction of new land cultivation methods and the development of irrigation systems. However, in most regions, traditional management forms were preserved, which hindered the development of agriculture as a whole. Agriculture played an important role in Italy's foreign trade. The main exports were agricultural products such as olive oil, wine, raw silk, and grain. However, dependence on agricultural exports made the Italian economy vulnerable to fluctuations in world prices and foreign market conditions.

After the Congress of Vienna (1815), Italy was divided into several states, which created obstacles to developing trade and economic cooperation. However, a new trade

policy was gradually being formed to liberalize trade and develop economic ties with other European countries.

Italy has developed trade relations with leading European countries such as Great Britain, France, and Austria. However, the unequal nature of these relations has often made the Italian economy dependent on more developed countries. The customs organization in Italy was characterized by complexity and diversity. Different countries had different customs tariffs and rules, which created obstacles to trade development within the country. Italian maritime cities such as Genoa, Venice, and Trieste were essential in developing trade and navigation. However, their economic development was uneven and depended on the political and economic situation in the region.

Italy's merchant shipping declined after the Napoleonic Wars. However, it was gradually restored and developed, especially in cities such as Genoa and Livorno. Trieste was a major industrial center of the region, where shipbuilding, metallurgy, and the textile industry developed. Due to its port position, Trieste played an essential role in trade with the Austrian Empire and other European countries. Venice, once a mighty maritime power, was in decline after the fall of the Republic of Venice. However, its economic importance was gradually restored, especially in the field of trade and tourism. Venice's industry was in decline, except for some industries, such as glassmaking and lace production. The textile industry played an essential role in the Italian economy. However, it was characterized by diversity and uneven development. The silk industry was one of the most developed branches of Italian industry. Italy was famous for its raw silk and silk fabrics, which were in high demand in the European market. Industrial development in Italy was uneven. The most developed industrial regions were Lombardy, Piedmont, and Veneto. Wool and cloth production also played an essential role in the Italian economy. However, it declined compared to the silk industry. Cotton production in Italy developed slowly due to competition from more developed countries such as the United Kingdom.

Metallurgical production in Italy was at an early stage of development. The mining industry in the Apennines was poorly developed, hindering the development of metallurgy. The trade balance of metallurgical products was negative, indicating Italy's dependence on metal imports.

*Thesis.* Italy's social and economic development in the first half of the 19th century was complex and inconsistent. The period of Napoleon's rule significantly impacted the country's development, contributing to the modernization of some aspects of the economy and society. However, the political fragmentation of Italy after the Congress of Vienna created obstacles to the country's economic development and integration. Despite some successes in the development of industry and agriculture, Italy lagged significantly behind the leading European countries in terms of economic development.

## Chapter 8

### Conclusion

During the study an algorithm was developed for the social and economic analysis of trends in the development of the Italian civilizational space over several millennia until the middle of the 19th century. This time-based approach was determined so that the results of the study could be verified in the future that the social and economic development of the space formed logical and reasonable prerequisites for those political, social, and consequently economic transformations that took place in the second half of the 19th century and led to the emergence of the ideology of fascism, the transformed form of capitalist relations in the future. They were logically transformed into a developed capitalist economy in the second half of the 20th century. The social and economic processes that have taken place in this civilizational space for many centuries have become the logical basis for subsequent transformations, which can serve as the basis for algorithmizing the process of analyzing other European civilizational spaces for further designing the social and economic processes of its future.

The principles of algorithmization are as follows:

- (1) Coverage of the maximum possible period of the existence of a given civilizational space. This makes it possible to detect all the markers of social and economic transformation of society;
- (2) Accurate and progressive tracking of events from the point of view of historical chronology, defining the main areas of analysis in each period;
- (3) The exclusion of a multidisciplinary review with a focus on historical events, that is, the allocation of two essential areas of society's activities for a more thorough or grounded analysis of the processes of transformation of the civilizational space, for example, the choice of social and economic directions;
- (4) To verify the algorithm model, perform a preliminary analysis up to a specific historical period to verify the correctness of the model's application to a given civilizational space.

Consequently, the dissertation study performed a social and economic analysis of Italy's civilizational space up to the middle of the 19th century to verify the algorithmization model of the analysis.

Chapter 1 provides a general physical and geographical description of the territory of the Apennine Peninsula and adjacent islands, on the site of which the civilizational space of Italian society has been formed for several millennia. Physical and geographical data are essential for understanding the natural conditions that facilitated civilization's emergence and its society's transformation over a long period of time. It should be borne in mind that the Roman-Italian civilization originated in one of the most comfortable regions of the world, which is dominated by a subtropical, Mediterranean climate, which has undergone several epochs of cooling and warming over the past four thousand years. This was reflected in the formation of the economy and social policy of the states that arose in the civilizational space of the Apennine Peninsula. The author concludes that the Apennine Peninsula occupies a strategically important position in the center of the Mediterranean Sea, contributing to the development of trade, cultural contacts, and military campaigns. Proximity to other major ancient civilizations (Greece, Egypt, and Phoenicia) accelerated knowledge and technology exchange. A combination of geographical factors – advantageous location, availability of fertile lands, favorable climate, and protected terrain – ensured the prosperity of civilizations on the Apennine Peninsula from Ancient Rome to the present day.

Chapter 2 is devoted to analyzing the economic and social characteristics of Ancient Rome over a long historical period – from 2800 BC to the 3rd century AD. For the convenience of reviewing the material, the chapter is divided into several key aspects covering political and geographical features, government institutions' evolution, and economic relations formation. This chapter is a comprehensive study of the economic and social aspects of Ancient Rome, revealing the patterns of its development and the functioning of key institutions. Thanks to a detailed analysis, it is possible to understand the specifics of the Roman economy and society and identify essential patterns that influenced the further development of civilization in the Mediterranean and Europe. In total, the author concludes that the Roman Empire became a crucial geographical unit



in the history of mankind, having a significant impact on the development of civilization in the ancient period. Its unique location in the center of the Mediterranean Sea contributed to the establishment of Rome as a powerful economic, military, and cultural center. The natural conditions of the Apennine Peninsula, including fertile lands, a favorable climate, and convenient communication routes, allowed the Romans to develop agriculture, handicraft production, and trade, which contributed to the growth of cities and ensured the sustainable development of the economy. The economy of Ancient Rome went through a difficult path of development: from agrarian subsistence farming to a powerful slave-owning system with developed trade and handicrafts and then to gradual degradation under the influence of internal and external factors. The main patterns of development were territorial expansion, the use of slave labor, the growth of cities and trade, and then the crisis phenomena that led to the decline of the economy. These processes largely predetermined the fall of the Western Roman Empire in the 5th century AD, becoming an important historical lesson about the consequences of unstable economic models.

Chapter 4 is devoted to analyzing the key processes that determined the transformation of ancient Roman society and its evolution within the framework of medieval Europe. The focus will be on the historical, ethnic, social, and economic changes that took place in the former Roman Empire from the fourth to the fourteenth centuries. This chapter will cover a wide range of issues, starting with the Great Migration of Peoples and ending with the peculiarities of the social and economic structure of the feudal society of the late Middle Ages. In total, the author concludes that the development of the society and economy of the Roman Empire during the early Middle Ages was due to the profound historical changes that took place on the territory of the empire: complex historical processes, including the migration of peoples, the feudalization of society, the growth of monastic farms, and the development of trade determined the economic development of the Roman Empire in the early Middle Ages. Gradually, the feudal economy gave way to market relations, which paved the way for future economic transformations in Europe.

Chapter 5 is devoted to analyzing key aspects of the Italian states' social and economic life during the Renaissance's formation and heyday. The Renaissance, which

spanned the 13th–15th centuries, was marked by profound changes in the social, political and economic spheres, which predetermined the further development of Europe. This chapter will address issues related to the transformation of the social order and the development of industry, crafts, trade and banking. The chapter is a comprehensive study of the social and economic structure of Renaissance Italy, revealing the features of the political structure, the position of various strata of society, the development of crafts and trade, as well as the factors that predetermined the success of Italian city-states on the path to prosperity. In total, the author concludes that the study of Italy's economic and social characteristics during the Renaissance (13th–15th centuries) allows us to draw many essential conclusions about the specifics of the development of this region during this period. Italy was not a single state but consisted of many city-states and principalities, which determined the unique path of its social, economic and political development. In the 13th–15th centuries, the country underwent significant transformations that affected society's social structure and economic mechanisms. The Renaissance became a time of intense economic and social development for Italy. Socio-political changes helped to strengthen the position of the bourgeoisie and the formation of new public institutions. Economic growth was based on the development of workshops, industry and trade, which significantly improved the material well-being of Italian cities. Trade and banking became powerful driving forces that gave Italy a leading role in the international economy of that time. Due to its geographical location and active participation in trade processes, Italy has created a unique economic model that, in many ways, anticipated the European capitalist processes of future centuries. In general, the development of Italy in the 13th–15th centuries demonstrates a complex combination of traditional and innovative elements, which made this era unique and significant for world history.

Chapter 6 is devoted to studying the Italian state in the Age of Enlightenment (16th–18th centuries), highlighting the key aspects of its economic, social, and financial development. During this period, Italy was going through complex transformation processes that affected both the internal structures of individual states and their interaction with international markets and political forces in Europe. The chapter is a comprehensive study of Italy's economic and financial evolution in the Age of

Enlightenment, covering the key factors contributing to its development and transformation in pan-European processes. In total, the author concludes that the economic characteristics of Italy in the 16th-18th centuries attest to the complex and ambiguous development of the region. During the Age of Enlightenment, Italy experienced a protracted economic decline caused by various factors, including political fragmentation, interference by foreign powers, and outdated feudal structures. Many states of the peninsula experienced serious financial and economic difficulties. However, specific evolutionary processes aimed at modernizing the economy occurred in many regions. The overall economic situation was aggravated by a high degree of taxation, an imbalance between the development of industry and agriculture, and slow adaptation to changing trade conditions. The problem of poverty remained relevant, which, in turn, influenced wage policy. An important aspect was also pricing, which experienced significant fluctuations under the influence of internal and external factors.

Chapter 7 is devoted to the analysis of key aspects of the economic and social development of Italy in the first half of the 19th century. The introduction to this chapter provides an overview of the upcoming analysis, emphasizing its importance for understanding the complex processes that took place in Italian society and economy during this period. The chapter provides a comprehensive analysis of Italy's social and economic development in the first half of the 19th century, focusing on both the industrial and agricultural sectors as well as trade and international economic relations. This analysis allows us to understand the economic dynamics of the region better and identify key trends and factors that determined the development of Italy in this historical period. The author concludes that the period of Napoleon's rule (1796-1814) significantly impacted Italy's social and economic development. Despite the hardships of the occupation and military operations, essential reforms were performed to modernize the administrative system, legislation, and economy. Prerequisites were created to form a single internal market, and measures and weights were unified, contributing to the development of trade and industry. However, Napoleon's rule was also characterized by high taxes, requisitions, and the continental blockade, negatively affecting economic development. Italy's social and economic development in the first half of the 19th century was complex and inconsistent. The period of Napoleon's rule

significantly impacted the country's development, contributing to the modernization of some aspects of the economy and society. However, the political fragmentation of Italy after the Congress of Vienna created obstacles to the country's economic development and integration. Despite some successes in the development of industry and agriculture, Italy lagged significantly behind the leading European countries in terms of economic development.

Finally, in the course of the dissertation study, the features of the social and economic development of the society of the Apennine Peninsula were studied throughout the entire period of the formation of the civilizational space; the features of the interrelationship of social and economic development for the formation of the Italian civilizational space were analyzed, and the parameters and patterns of social and economic transformation of the Italian civilizational space were determined to understand the regional development of Europe. Further, the study's results allowed us to characterize the main parameters of the social and economic development of the society that formed the civilizational space of Italy.

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